

**A Historical Study on the Implications of *Brown v. The Board of Education* on Black Art Educators**

THESIS

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts in the  
Graduate School of the Ohio State University

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2020

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## ABSTRACT

Did *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954*, have an adverse impact on the employment of Black art educators? In this study, I questioned what specifically happened to Black art educators and Black art education in desegregated schools after *Brown*? Also, with the disappearance of Black and minority culture being taught in primary schools after *Brown*, how was Black and minority art impacted? The sub question of my research explores the capacity in which Black art educators were teaching art to Black students prior to *Brown* and the possible implications *Brown* had on their employment in desegregated public schools. Included in this study is a brief history of art departments established at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) by pioneering Black art educators. As there is scarce research regarding how *Brown* potentially effected the employment of Black art educators, this research explores the possible connection between *Brown* and the displacement of Black art educators. In this study I aim to articulate why Black art educators and culturally inclusive art curricula could have been rejected from desegregated public primary schools.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to any current or aspiring Black art educator that fails to see themselves represented in the percentage of art educators working in the 21st century. This study is to inform you that there is a rich history of Black art educators that paved the way for you to pursue art education as a profession. Be encouraged and take inspiration from your history.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I would like to give a sincere thank you to my committee members Dr. Joni Acuff and Dr. Karen Hutzel for affirming my research interests and supporting me in my research process by sending me any books or articles that made the slightest reference to a Black art educator. To Dr. Acuff, thank you for constantly challenging me to push myself as a writer and a researcher and thank you for reminding me that nothing and no one should come between me and my finished thesis. I would like to thank my mom, Pepper, my sister, Aisha, and my cousin Lisa, for their countless words of encouragement during this entire process. There was never a moment where positivity and affirmations were not coming from them. I would also like to thank my roommate Brittany for never questioning the questionable levels of energy drinks I was consuming daily. I would like to thank my friend Patrice, and the rest of my church family for their prayers and words of wisdom. Most importantly I would like to thank God that this is finished and my Lord and Savior Jesus Christ for giving me all the strength I needed to endure and persevere.

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **Background of Study**

Like many other Black children in my generation, my understanding of Black art and culture came from home. I received my Black history education via worn family stories that have been passed down and recounted countless times across the family dinner table. I have an aunt born in 1934, who would tell me stories about her and my father growing up in Detroit, Michigan, while she tightly braided my hair, removing any trace of tender-headedness. I vividly remember my father telling me about the first time he saw cotton when he was sent to Pahokee, Florida, on a bus. He remembered the field of white stretching so far that he thought it was snow. My mother, also rich in stories and knowledge of Black culture, would constantly create spaces to educate my sister and I on it at home because she knew we would not receive that kind education at our school.

There were three Black girls in my grade at Ponte Vedra high school, and none of us were friends. At that age, I did my best to blend in with my White peers because I did not want to stand out for any reason. I didn't want to be Black at school because I did not feel as though I had permission to be. In most of my classes, I was the only Black person in the room, literally and figuratively. The only capacity in which Black historical figures were included in the content of my classrooms, was regarding slavery or the modern Civil Rights Movement. In my experience, Black culture at school was only ever framed in torture or struggle. This embedded in me the toxic idea that Black culture and my schooling should remain separate.

For all I was taught, the only Black people to exist in history worth noting were Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Harriet Tubman. I went through my entire K-12 experience learning



about the same two Black historical figures, from middle-class White female teachers and thus from a middle-class White female perspective. The Black history I received in the classroom during my time in primary school was limited to the month of February, and it was rudimentary to say the least.

I was under the belief that the only spaces for Black art, culture and history were at home. I did my best not to let those worlds intersect because when they did, the result was uncomfortable. My mother would style my hair in every sort of way, with a puff at the top of my head, two on the sides, braids going this way and that, braids with beads at the end that would clank and rattle at the smallest movement. These were all hairstyles almost every little Black girl would wear, and at the time I hated them. I hated them because every time she would put my hair in the two puffs, my White classmates would tease me and call me “Minnie Mouse” and when my hair was in braids, they would run from me calling me “Medusa.” My Blackness was on display for the whole school to see, it inserted itself into my schooling without my authorization. In retrospect, I thank and appreciate my mother for sending me to that all White school looking so Black.

During my schooling, the hidden curriculum taught me that Black people were not scientists, they were not mathematicians, they were not successful authors and poets, and they were not noteworthy artists. The information that is missing from the curriculum can be just as noticeable as what is blatantly said. Margolis (2001) defines the hidden curriculum as the “norms, values, and belief systems embedded in the curriculum, the school and classroom life, imparted to students through daily routines, curricular content, and social relationships” (as cited in Jay, 2003, p. 6). The hidden curriculum taught me that Black people should act and look as White as possible to be accepted. I urged myself to conform to the dominant culture, it hardly

crossed my mind that important Black figures and successful artists were missing from the content of my classes. Jay (2003) states “Consequently, schools, through their organization, structure and curriculum (both formal and hidden), aid in the maintenance of hegemony by acculturating students to the interests of the dominant group and the students are encouraged and instructed, both explicitly and implicitly, to make those interests their own” (p.7). In primary school I was never all that curious when it came to Black art or Black history because I was never given reason or opportunity to be.

I was never able to see myself in the information I was learning, primarily because of who was delivering it, and who the information was about. Every teacher I had from kindergarten to twelfth grade was White and many of them struggled with their racial literacy. A racially literate educator would be able to utilize knowledge around race and racism to create a more “holistic form of education” (King, 2019; Sealey-Ruiz & Greene, 2015). They would not exclude details from history that make them uncomfortable, and they would understand how Black students are both formally and informally educated (King, 2019). Anyon (2006) and Apple (2012) make mention that a racially literate teacher, or a teacher of color could potentially “employ methods and practices that allow students to reach their full potential without forcing them to assimilate to a schools’ hidden curriculum” (as cited in Howell, Norris & Williams, 2019, p. 26). My White peers had the benefit of being educated by teachers that looked like them and taught about people that looked like them. They learned the social cues of their culture in the classroom and on the playground. They had classmates and administrators that would affirm their learning styles and understand their heritage. Nothing had to go through a filter, and it was not necessary for them to code switch.

Representation is incredibly important in teaching staff. When there is not enough diversity in teaching staff, it creates a deficit in role models for the Black and other students of color (Lee, 2012). According to Farinde, Allen and Lewis (2016) teaching staff should reflect the current U.S. student demographic. Easton- Brooks (2013), and Milner (2006) found that “Research suggests highly qualified Black teachers are uniquely positioned to teach Black students because of a cultural understanding of their students’ home and community life” (as cited by Farinde et al., 2016, p. 115). Black people are able to better understand and relate to other Black people. Burriss, K. and Burriss, L. (2004); Cho and DeCastro Ambrosetti (2006); Hinojosa and Moras (2009); Hollins and Guzman (2005); Sleeter (2001); Sleeter and Thao (2007); Van Hook (2002); all found that “White preservice teachers are not adequately prepared, culturally competent or comfortable teaching diverse populations” (as cited in Lee, 2012, p. 49-50). White teachers can, but are not always fully equipped to culturally support and understand minority students.

There are thousands of Black students that have a similar educational background to me. They had to separate their Blackness from their education. My personal experience has given me the perspective that minority students rarely choose to go into the education profession because they rarely see educators that look like them. This lack of modeling impacts their desire to return to school for a career. This was true for me until I attended a Historically Black University (HBCU).

My first year of undergrad attending a HBCU was a culture shock because I had never been around that many Black people before, especially that many Black educators. I attended this HBCU partially because my mother encouraged me, but also because they offered me a scholarship. Fifty percent of my professors were Black almost every semester. Before those

classes, I had never experienced having a Black educator or a Black art educator, but during those few short years I ended up experiencing both. In undergrad, I majored in art education to become an art teacher. My mom helped me to see my natural teaching ability and supported me every step of the way as I became an aspiring art teacher. When I first began this journey of becoming a Black female art teacher, I did not realize how rare I would be. My HBCU slightly warped my perspective of the quantity of Black educators teaching in primary schools particularly Black art educators. Outside of the bubble of my HBCU, Black teachers, specifically Black art teachers, are scarce.

### **Statement of Problem**

Traditionally, education was a highly esteemed profession in the Black community. Black educators were seen as leaders and advocates for the Black community as a whole, and specifically as role models for Black children (Tillman, 2004). Tillman (2004) goes on to say that “Black educators helped to build and operate schools, secure funding and other needed resources, worked with the Black community and worked as advocates for the education of Black children” (p. 282). Black teachers did more than teach students how to read, they were preparing them to have a better chance at life (Tillman, 2004). In the early 1900’s Black students were getting their traditional education and their cultural education in the same place, similar to White students are today. Black students had no inherent desire to have a separation of Black culture and school because they were surrounded by peers that looked like them and they were being taught by teachers that looked like them. In certain areas, Black historical figures, and as I find out later Black artists, were included in the curricula and students were able to see themselves in the content.

Once desegregation was mandated, more Black students were being taught by White teachers that have no frame of reference for Black art and culture nor did they value it. Hill (n.d.), found that “Brown v. Board of Education, although it provided for the desegregation of the schools it did not call for the merging of the cultures. Most of the cultural aspects of African-Americans were lost with the integration of the schools as their heritage was not considered important to be taught in the schools” (p. 8). During this time in education history, several Black educators were adversely impacted and subsequently Black students. Between 1954 and 1965 “more than 38,000 Black educators in 17 southern and border states were dismissed from their positions” (Hudson & Homes, 1994; Orfield & Lee, 2004). When desegregation was mandated it resulted in the closing of Black schools, not White schools (Oakley et al., 2009). The curricula that was being taught in White schools, not Black schools, survived the merge.

This large excerpt from “Retaining Black Teachers: An Examination of Black Female Teachers’ Intentions to Remain in K-12 Classrooms” by Farinde et al., gives a great historical explanation of why there are so few Black teachers. According to Dixson & Dingus (2008); Irvine (1989); Tillamn (2004); Madkins (2011):

The roles of Black teachers after emancipation and until segregation, prior to *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, KS* and the reasons they entered and remained in the profession were directly related to the advancement of the collective Black community. Black female teachers, particularly, had a long legacy in teaching and were instrumental within Black schools. To this end, Black teachers were charged to uplift the Black race through preparing children in segregated schools for freedom, respectability, independence, and self-reliance. The *Brown v. Board of Education* landmark decision produced unforeseen consequences for the Black community and the Black teaching

force. In the aftermath of *Brown*, a substantial number of Black teachers lost their jobs as Black students were bused to distant districts and integrated into majority White schools because White parents did not want their children to have Black teachers. These actions led to the closing of numerous Black operated schools and displaced countless Black educators. (as cited by Farinde et al., 2016, p.116)

Jobs in education for Black people became temperamental, hostile and limited. Oakley, Stowell, and Logan (2009) stated “because of the lack of official language concerning Black-teacher retention (Orfield, 1969), there was no monitoring of the impact of desegregation on Black teachers...” (p.3). Several Black educators were not rehired, forced to resign, or pushed out of their careers upon desegregation (Oakley et al., 2009). In Black schools, Black students were not in an environment where they needed to “relinquish or abandon their cultural, ethnic, or linguistic position or history” (Acuff, 2013, p.224) in order to receive their education. The curriculum being taught in Black schools pre- *Brown* was different from the curriculum in White schools, and Black students were called mentally retarded or they were told they had learning disabilities in the White schools they were attending because of their difference in classroom content (Farinde et al., 2016). It became increasingly difficult for Black students to be supported by their teachers and relate to their peers. The National Center for Education Studies (2009) found that “only 6.7% of the 3.8 million teachers in public schools modernly are Black” (as cited in Lee, 2012, p.49). Of the 6.7%, it is extremely possible that even fewer are Black art teachers.

White art educators were commonly educated by White college professors in primarily White colleges and institutions (Sealey- Ruiz & Green, 2015). Some White art teachers will teach what they were taught and how they were taught, unintendedly perpetuating a very White washed art curriculum. Only referencing images created by White artists depicting only White

people may ingrain into a student's subconscious that Black people are not artists. This is the case for both Black students and White students. White students studying art education don't frequently learn about successful Black artists, so they are not inclined to teach about them in their classrooms. Lock (1971) found that "The omission of such facts would lead one to infer that people of colour did not create art or have art education experiences until they were allowed to attend school, while in reality, the art education of the 'Negro' predates the 1800s and continued throughout slavery and emancipation" (as cited in Acuff, 2013, p. 222). Hill (n.d.) states that:

The artists of the Negro Movement made the transition to teaching art at many of the Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). It was their dedication to preserving the culture of their ancestors along with their original purpose to prepare and train "colored teachers" (Taylor, J. C., 2012). Some of these colleges and universities not only taught some of the most influential African-American art educators of the 20th century they also became host to some of the finest collections of African-American art. One of these schools is Howard University in Washington, DC, whose art department was founded in 1921 by James Herring (p.5).

## Research Questions

Research exists that supports the notion that desegregation decreased the Black teaching force in the south (Fultz, 2004; Oakley et al., 2009; Tillman, 2004). In the midst of the integration process, **what specifically happened to Black art educators and Black art education in desegregated schools after *Brown*?** Culture and art are typically taught together, **with the disappearance of Black and minority culture being taught in primary schools after *Brown*, how was Black and minority art impacted?** In the modern school, not only will a

Black students not be taught by a Black art teacher, but they won't be educated on successful Black artist's work or works that feature Black people as the subject (Acuff, 2013).

Sub question I will be answering in this research:

- **In what capacity was art being taught by Black art educators in Black schools pre- *Brown* and what changed post- *Brown* once Black students went to White schools?**

### **Significance of Study**

*Brown* was the landmark supreme court case that ended segregation and the “separate but equal” doctrine caused by *Plessy v Ferguson*. The supreme court decided that “separate educational facilities are inherently unequal” (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954). *Brown II*, enforced the integration of Black children into White public schools. However, the larger consideration is, the integration of what and whom? *Brown II* ordered the immediate admission of Black students into schools previously attended only by White students, but in both documents, teachers are seldom mentioned.

Black students were admitted into White schools as physical bodies and were compelled to assimilate into the established culture of their new schools. A culture that was hostile and full of preconceived notions about the new students. According to *Brown*, segregation caused the educational and mental development of the Negro child to “retard” (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954). It was thought that everything Black students learned in Black schools was useless causing White schools not to take any initiative when it came to fully integrate Black students in both body and in content. To truly integrate Black students, White schools should have adopted some of the curriculum that was being taught in Black schools as well as hired Black educators



to teach in the integrated schools. It is difficult to fathom the notion that schools were integrated when schools actually remained unchanged in content and in staff.

It is imperative that this research exists because of the lack of Black art educators which leads to the lack of inspiration for Black students to become artists or art educators. My intentions for this research are to bring awareness to the deficit of Black art educators working today and why this deficit finds its origins immediately following the *Brown* decision. This study will uncover the capacity in which art was being taught by Black art educators in Black schools pre-*Brown* and what changed post-*Brown*. I am articulating the need for more Black art educators and an art education curriculum that includes Black artists in equitable measures to White artists.

Not much research exists that has unearthed what Black art educators have contributed to the field of art education. Black art education is under researched, which results in the deprivation of information regarding the effect art education that centers Black artists and Black subjects would have on Black students. With my research I will contribute to the scarce literature that focuses on Black art educators and art education that includes Black artists in the pre and post *Brown* public education system.

This research is important because it will potentially impact the recruitment of Black art educators and bring a sense of urgency to the inclusion of more art content that includes Black art and artists at the K-12 level. The earlier Black students learn about Black artists and have opportunities to develop artist identities, the more likely they are to see a career in art as feasible. Furthermore, employing more Black art educators in public schools could benefit all students not just Black students.

It is imperative for all students to be educated about Black artists and their contributions to the art world in some capacity. There does not need to be a physical Black student or student of color in the classroom in order for Black and minority art to be taught (Bash, 2014). It would be beneficial for White students to be educated about Black artist in equal measures to Black and other students of color because it will resist the ideas of monoculturalism and cultural homogeneity (Bash, 2014). When art educators do not teach about Black artists and artworks that depict Black subjects it warps a student's perception of who an artist is and what an artists can create art of.

## CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

### **Antebellum to Postbellum Black Education**

Following emancipation, “Between four and five million human beings, who had hitherto been deprived of every right of human nature, have been suddenly precipitated into freedom and invested with the rights of republican citizens” (Stowe, 1878, p. 605). Harriet Beecher Stowe was referring to the four to five million enslaved Africans who were emancipated following the abolition of slavery. These masses of newly freed Black people entering society as citizens immediately began seeking an education that was formerly denied to them. The literature is unambiguous when it comes to articulating the illegality of the educated Negro (Cornelius, 1983; Span & Anderson, 2005; Stowe, 1878). The majority of slaveowners and citizens feared the idea of an educated and literate slave because literacy was perceived as a means to freedom for the enslaved, and advancement for the freed (Span & Anderson, 2005; Tyack & Lowe, 1986). A literate Black person threatened the lifestyle of southern slaveowners and southern antebellum society.

No matter their status, enslaved or freed, access to education was denied to Black people during antebellum America, specifically in the southern slaveholding states. Laws were created that “prohibited any person from teaching or causing a slave to be taught to read or write” (Raffel, 1996, as cited by Span & Anderson, 2005). Literacy and education were generally followed by the mental or physical freedom for an enslaved person. The Black people who were able to read usually only had access to one book, the Bible, and they began reading it for themselves. This worried southern slaveholders. Span and Anderson (2005) found that educating Black people was immediately criminalized once White missionaries began to informally teach them. They believed all God’s children should be baptized, and literacy was a prerequisite to

baptism. If a person was baptized as Christian in antebellum Virginia, they could not be enslaved because of a Virginia statute that did not allow Christians to be enslaved (Span & Anderson, 2005). Southern society could only function if Black people, both enslaved or freed, remained illiterate and uneducated.

In some states, it was illegal to sell writing materials to enslaved Black people or establish schools for free Black people (Cornelius, 1991; Genovese, 1974, as cited in Span & Anderson, 2005). All parties involved, Black and White, would be punished if found in violation. If these laws were broken, states would “impose fines, public whippings, and/or imprisonment to anyone caught teaching enslaved or free African Americans” (Span & Anderson, 2005, p. 296). Even in states where it was not illegal to educate Black people, opportunities for Black people to obtain an education were nonexistent. Black people were even prohibited from assembling for any educational purpose (Cornelius, 1991, as cited by Span & Anderson, 2005). Stowe (1878) found that even in Northern states, Black people were either disenfranchised or jilted from educational institutions. Educated Black people were a danger to the lifestyle that southern White people created, and this conflict would later cause a war to maintain. Country wide, Black people were hindered from educating and advancing themselves, but many risked their own lives to learn to read and write anyway.

Stowe (1878) mentions how the perceived understanding of slaveholders was that the “negro was unfit for any other condition than that of slavery” (p. 607). This notion led to the pseudo-science of the antebellum era, that Black people were “genetically inferior” and “incapable of learning” (Span & Anderson, 2005; Stowe 1878). This was the logic that was used in order to disenfranchise Black people and keep them in a place of poverty and enslavement.

Even Black people who were not enslaved could not readily educate themselves in the south. If it was not illegal, slaveowners and slavery supporters would violently enforce the ideology.

Fredrick Douglass (1855) said “it is perfectly well understood at the south, that to educate a slave is to make him disconnected with slavery...” (p. 432, as cited in Span & Anderson, 2005). A literate enslaved Black person was capable of writing their own ticket to freedom (Cornelius, 1983). An enslaved Black person who was literate, could read and write their own free papers and they could read and understand legal documents. A literate Black person in the antebellum south could not be easily controlled, nor could they continue to believe that they and their race were genetically inferior. They could no longer believe this because their literacy disproved the racist notion that Black people were incapable of learning (Webber, 1978 as cited in Span & Anderson, 2005). Slaveowners and southern White people built and sustained their power on the ignorance of the enslaved and they worked hard to suppress their enlightenment (Tyack & Lowe, 1986).

Slaves who learned to read or write were punished by being wipped, sometimes to death, they were branded (Cornelius, 1983), or they would have their forefinger cut from their right hand (Heard, 1924, as cited in Span and Anderson, 2005). These methods were used in order to deter slaves from learning to read or write, it terrorized them into stopping their studies. These tactics worked for some individuals but not for others, despite these dangers, they were still educating themselves (Cornelius, 1983).

Black people, whether enslaved or freed, were unrelenting when it came to seeking an education despite societal resistance. Having an education became a badge of freedom and honor to former slaves (Newby & Tyack 1971; Tyack & Lowe, 1986). According to DuBois, unlike poor whites, Black people did not associate literacy and education with wealth, they associated it

will freedom and self-sufficiency (Span & Anderson, 2005; Tyack & Lowe, 1986). Education was the “stepping stone to wealth and respect” (Du Bois, 1935, p. 641, as cited in Span & Anderson, 2005). After emancipation countless former enslaved Blacks scrambled to freedmen schools in the hopes of learning to read and write (Span & Anderson, 2005; Tyack & Lowe, 1986). These schools were “started by northern teachers who moved south to assist freed people in their transition from slaves to citizens” (Span & Anderson, 2005, p. 305; Newby & Tyack 1971).

Newly freed Black people immediately began striving for self-sufficiency, both the north and the south believed the notion that Black education was the responsibility of Black people (Anderson, 1988, as cited by Walker, 2000;). Tyack and Lowe (1986) did find that there were northern Whites who assisted in the education of the newly freed Blacks. Tyack and Lowe (1986) write “they believed in the power of education to up rise blacks from the degradation of slavery and to make them responsible workers and citizens...” (p. 241). They went on to assert that southern Whites were always hostile to the idea of educating Black people whether they were being taught by White people or Black people. The push for the creation of schools among the newly freed people continued after the war, and Black people began to teach themselves and others to read and write at their own schools (Anderson, 1988; Cornelius, 1983; Newby & Tyack, 1971; Siddle Walker, 2000; Tyack & Lowe, 1986; Span & Anderson, 2005).

The best time for former slaves to receive an education was during reconstruction. Reconstruction began taking place in the midst of the Civil War, spanning the years of 1863-1877. Black people began gaining political power and influence in the south, they used this power to fund and staff schools and fight for schooling as a basic right for both races (Tyack & Lowe, 1986). After the Civil War, during southern reconstruction, Congress created several

preconditions for the readmission of the confederate states back into the Union, one of which was the establishment of public schools open to all regardless of race or color (Tack & Lowe, 1986; Span & Anderson, 2005). They also identified that republicans were striving to eradicate illiteracy and were willing to give federal aid to any state that would comply. This accompanied the ideology that if suffrage was universal, education must also be universal (Tack & Lowe, 1986).

Across the country, schools for Black people were being established and attendance was in the hundreds (Walker, 2000; Span & Anderson 2005). Span and Anderson (2005) said former enslaved Black people were making strides when it came to obtaining an education, even if it was only rudimentary instruction. It didn't matter what it was, Black people were eager to have access to education and they were learning quickly. Bond (1939) found that Black schools steadily improved, and "negro" illiterately decreased (as cited in Walker, 2000). Reconstruction was doing its job by aiding the newly freed slaves. Black children were learning at astonishingly fast rates and if they continued on that path, they would surpass White children in the race for intelligence (Span & Anderson, 2005).

The reconstruction government was eventually overthrown by White supremacist in the 1870s, stalling the educational progress of Black people (Tyack & Lowe, 1986). After this, segregated elementary and high schools for Black students were created and sustained (Walker, 2000; Tyack & Lowe, 1986), forcing the Black schools to compete with White schools for finite resources (Bond, 1939, Walker, 2000; Tyack & Lowe, 1986). Southern Whites attempted to re-establish the power dynamics that existed before reconstruction. White supremacists used the structures created by reconstruction against the Black population and their White allies in congress. Funding to Black schools was dramatically cut with the justification that "African

Americans did not contribute sufficiently to the tax base to be worthy of receiving an equitable share for their schools” (Walker, 2000, p. 259). Shortly following this, White northern teachers lost their zeal to participate in the education of freed slaves because “they failed to understand the full effects of generations of slavery” (Newby, Tyack, 1971, p. 195). This caused there to be transitions in leadership at Black schools. Newby and Tyack (1971) found that Black leaders wanted more positions of power as administrators and teachers ultimately, “wanted to dominate their own institutions” (p. 195).

### **Historically Black Colleges and Universities**

Higher education opportunities for Black people were few and far between prior to the Civil War. Albritton (2012) quotes Mbajekwe (2006) and says, “when the Civil War erupted in 1861 at least 90% of all African Americans were illiterate, and only 20% had received college- or- university- level training from any American Institution” (p.313). The only established institutions known to train and educate Black people during that time were Lincoln, Cheyney and Wilberforce Universities in Pennsylvania and Ohio respectively (Albritton, 2012). It was the goal of White America to keep Black people bound to a “hopeless bondage to ignorance” due to the lack of opportunity and the lack of willing institutions (Stowe, 1879, p. 608).

After the Civil War and the abolition of slavery more opportunities developed for the newly freed Black people seeking a higher education. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) were established to be a means to an unencumbered education for academically minded Black people. HBCUs have a history of advocating for and preparing Black people to become professionals and successful new citizens. By the founding of HBCUs, those who advocated for the education of Black people prevailed in creating institutions that played a significant role in the empowerment of the Black community.



The vast majority of HBCUs were established in the southern states where de jure segregation was the most pervasive. Churches were responsible for the creation of many HBCUs, to serve and educate the Black population (Albritton, 2012). These newly founded HBCUs that were attended and staffed by Black people were built, funded, and controlled by White missionaries according to Allen and Jewell (2002), and Albritton (2012). HBCUs fulfilled the higher educational needs of Black people that had been systematically withheld from them. These Black institutions differed slightly from their White counterparts because they existed not only to educate as a means of obtaining a better job but also to be an “instrument of liberation from a long history of legalized discrimination and oppression” (Albritton, 2012, p. 314).

White missionaries had curricular control over the schools, and they would employ a liberal arts curriculum that was usually found at elite White colleges (Allen & Jewell, 2002). A liberal arts education generally focused on subjects such as literature, philosophy and math. They were motivated to educate in this fashion in order to “create a class of morally upright citizens who knew how to live among White society... and to rid the country of the ‘menace’ of the uneducated African American” (Gasman & Tudico, 2008, as cited in Albritton, 2012). The ‘uneducated African American’ was created by the government and maintained by society. This type of liberal arts education solely invested in the contributions of the majority and viewed the non- white world as “benighted,” ignorant, and unenlightened (Woodson, 1933, as cited in Allen and Jewell, 2002).

If the founders of a particular HBCU did not adopt a liberal arts curriculum. They would focus on a vocational styled education, but had equally ill reasoning. Hampton University’s missionary founder viewed Black people as “morally inferior” and incapable of effectively utilizing liberal arts training (Allen & Jewell, 2002). The idea of Black people being inferior was

now being equated to them being incapable of improving themselves through education and there was little attempt to assist them. Bullock (1967) and Spivey (1978), noted that Hampton would focus on teaching manual labor and basic academic competency (as cited in Allen & Jewell, 2002; Cureau, 1972). This style of education for Black people kept Black people in a certain position in life, maintaining White supremacy while satisfying the educational aspirations of Black people (Allen & Jewell, 2002). When White missionaries were in positions of influence at HBCUs, their actions stunted the growth of Black individuals seeking a higher education. This type of leadership and control was not maintained for long because Black people working in and attending these institutions realized they were still not in control of their own education. HBCUs that began with primarily all White faculty members transitioned to hiring more Black faculty members who quickly adopted roles as deans and administrators (Albritton, 2012).

Even after leadership changed over from predominately White to predominantly Black the two camps of curriculum designs, liberal arts and vocational, remained. Institutions who supported a liberal arts education wanted their students to be competitive with White individuals when it came to the job market and academic prowess. Those in support of the later did not want Black people to challenge the status quo. Proponents of vocational and technical schools argued the Black people should not attempt to be competitive with White people and they should stay in their own lane. The two most famous advocates for the respective camps were Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois.

Washington, the founder of Tuskegee University, was educated at Hampton University formerly known as the Hampton Institute. He “promoted a philosophy rooted in religious morals, self-help, and hard work” (Albritton, 2012, p. 316). Likely inspired by the education he received from Hampton, Washington’s Tuskegee modeled itself after the more industrial education of

Black people (Albritton, 2012; Allen & Jewell, 2002; Cureau, 1972). He valued education and thought it was necessary for Black people to be educated but just not in a way that would lead them to compete with White people. Washington believed he could foster better race relations if Black people would embrace and appreciate skilled labor (Albritton, 2012). He felt if Black people were not in direct competition with White people, White people would begin to accept them because they were not threatening White individual's standard of living. Booker T. Washington did not want to scare White people into thinking he was trying to challenge the "racial cast system of the day" (Albritton, 2012, p. 317).

In the eyes of Washington, if Black people showed a dedication to hard work and committed to industry, they would eventually gain the acceptance and the support of White members of society (Albritton, 2012). The education Black students were getting from HBCUs like Tuskegee and Hampton was not perceived as threatening to White people and they often supported these schools financially. White people felt like an "industrial education would help maintain the status quo among the races," because Black people were not being educated at the same level as White people and they were being taught that their education should not and would not afford them the same opportunities as White people (Albritton, 2012, p. 318).

W.E.B. DuBois took an opposing stance when it came to the higher education of Black people. DuBois was a Harvard graduate and he supported a liberal arts education and did not think Black people should be educated according to their abilities (Allen & Jewell, 2002). DuBois "believed a that Black schools had a responsibility to build a class of intellectual elites with a commitment to uplift the race" (Albritton, 2012, p.319). DuBois acknowledged the importance of industrial training just like Washington acknowledged the idea of a liberal arts education. The only way DuBois believed Black people could become leaders is if a sect of

Black society was created called the *Talented Tenth*. Gasman and Tudico (2008) defined DuBois' talented tenth as "an elite Black upper class would act to guide the Black community into a process of growth and self- determination" (as cited in Albritton, 2012, 317). DuBois wanted to educate and cultivate the best of the Black race and groom them into leaders for the entirety of the Black community. He was known for being elitist, but he demanded and encouraged Black people to educate themselves and become capable of opposing segregation and challenging Jim Crow.

### **Historically Black Colleges and Universities and the Visual Arts**

Many HBCUs favored an industrial/technical form of education because it was "best suited for the negro" (Cureau, 1972, p. 443). HBCUs that endorsed industrial forms of education like Fisk, Hampton and Tuskegee, also supported the visual arts by providing access to resources such as art departments and collections of works of art (Cureau, 1972). Initially both liberal arts and industrial modeled HBCUs questioned the necessity of the visual arts and offered no encouragement to enlighten Black people through a visual means (Cureau, 1972). The luxuries of the arts according the Cureau (1972) were considered for Whites only in both the north and the south. The vocational style of Black education was "devoid of any consideration of aesthetic experiences in the Visual Arts" (Cureau, 1972, p. 443). Many of the leaders of these HBCUs were also the victims of "massive cultural deprivation" regarding the visual arts and would have found it difficult to consider the visual arts as significant or necessary (Cureau, 1972, p. 444). Charles S. Johnson, the first Black President of Fisk University in Tennessee, thought otherwise.

Johnson was a progressive thinker, believing the arts were a tool for advancement and that they contributed to the well-rounded education of Black students. Johnson was a sociologist by training and "spent the greater part of the 1920s bringing young Black artists and intellectuals

to the attention of the White vanguard in New York” (Gasman & Epstein, 2002, p.12). As a promoter and facilitator of the Harlem renaissance he worked hard to identify and showcase Black artistic talent. The Harlem Renaissance or New Negro Movement was a celebration of Black art, literature and culture. Spanning the 1920s the New Negro Movement began changing the image of Black people in America, Black creatives such as Langston Hughes, James Weldon Johnson and Aaron Douglas, began moving to the for front of American life (Gasman & Epstein, 2002). This change in the perception of the Black community was attributed to Americas soft spot for the art according to Johnson. Gasman and Epstein (2002) found that Johnson believed art had the potential to be the unifying force in the nation.

Before he was President, Johnson was the chair of the social science department at Fisk and under his leadership the department gained an international reputation (Gasman & Epstein, 2002). Both as faculty and the President of Fisk University, Johnson routinely pulled on the connections he made as a prompter during the New Negro Movement. Johnson was constantly bringing Black intellectuals and Black artists to Fisk. Johnson convinced his friend from the New Negro Movement, Aaron Douglas, to develop and chair the art department at Fisk (Bey, 2011; Davis, 1984a; Gasman & Epstein, 2002;). Douglas earned a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in painting from the University of Nebraska, he studied under Winold Reiss during the height of the New Negro Movement, and spent his tenure teaching in the art department at Fisk University (Bey, 2011). Not only was he a professor but Douglas would also serve as the curator and gallery director at the University. Fisk University was one of few HBCUs that supported and valued the arts thanks to its leadership. It had a flourishing art department an impressive gallery.

Georgia O’Keeffe donated 101 works of art from her husband’s collection to Fisk University in 1949. She intentionally choose a HBCU because it ability to make the art

accessible to the Black community. She believed “Fisk offered an environment in which people of all races could view the work” (Powell & Reynolds, 1999 as cited in Gasman & Epstein, 2002). This donation contributed to the progressive and inclusive atmosphere President Johnson was attempting to create.

By emphasizing and incorporating the arts, Johnson's goal was to create a broader learning experience. Johnson recognized the value of exposing all students to all forms of art whether or not it was part of their major field of study (Gasman & Epstein, 2002). The administration at Fisk was integrating the visual arts into the campus as a whole, not just for the students who chose to participate. The arts became well ingrained at Fisk University because of the views of Douglas and Johnson. They worked to integrate art into the overall campus curriculum. Coming off the steam of the New Negro Movement, as chair Douglas designed his curriculum to “spotlight the contributions of African Americans, thus preparing students for a leadership role in their community and the society at large” (Gasman & Epstein, 2002, p.17). Johnson transformed Fisk into a culturally inclusive university by embracing the visual arts. The influence the arts had on the environment of Fisk and the surrounding community had the potential to change the politics in the south. Johnson used the arts to prove the Black community was academically competitive and at the center of new knowledge and creativity. Gasman and Epstein (2002) emphasize the how art curriculum featuring Black artists and the galleries full of Black artists work benefited Black students by saying “the collections house a treasure trove of art including many of the best examples of African American painting, sculpture, and graphic works” (p.19). This collection of Black artists work at Fisk, fostered a sense of artistic identity in the community of students.

The work of President Charles S. Johnson at Fisk University is just one example of the incorporation of the visual arts at the collegiate level. Bey (2011) found that immediately following the New Negro Movement there was a surge in the creation of art departments at HBCUs. Black students who were attending these artistically rich HBCUs began taking the arts into their communities. Their art also began to reflect the communities in which they came from. The supportive environment for the arts, specifically the visual arts, created space for the existence artworks that interpreted Black life across America. Professional African American artists were usually educated in predominantly White and European institutions which focused exclusively on European traditions until the 1930s (Holland, 1998; Lewis, 2003; Locke, 1940, as cited by Bey, 2011). Until these trained Black artists returned to the states to teach at HBCUs, art departments were underdeveloped or non-existent.

### **The Visual Arts in Segregated Public Primary Schools**

By 1868, Black public school systems were being created to formally educate Black children. With the pervasive ideology of Jim Crow, the majority of public schools were segregated, meaning Black and White children went to separate schools. When public education was first being put into practice, Lawton (2017) found that “curriculum and textbooks were the same with the exception of drawing” (p. 102). Public education was still a new concept so the idea having a formal art teacher was not yet fully realized. A school’s basic function was to teach reading, writing and arithmetic in order to prepare children to function in their society. Schools were initially required to be ‘separate but equal,’ one school was not supposed to be better than the other on the basis of race. In the beginning of the Jim Crow segregation era separate but equal was honored, but as time went on the strict adherence began to deteriorate. Lawton (2017) says that teachers in White schools were using the William Bartholomew Progressive Drawing

Cards and setting aside time for drawing exercises. This exposed White students to the visual arts, but Black students were not given the same opportunity.

The majority of Black teachers that worked in the segregated schools held advanced degrees, and Stewart (2013) found that over the first several years the teachers developed many generations of highly educated and high achieving Black students that became involved in politics, the arts, science, law, medicine, the military, and education (as cited in Lawton, 2017). Even with excellent educators, the segregated schools in D.C. were fighting for curricular autonomy, equitable resources and recognition (Lawton, 2017). Black schools began losing support from the Board of Education, Black educators in power were stripped of their leadership roles in the public school system, and consequently lost control of their schools.

Even though art was not yet intentionally included in the curriculum at the first few Black public schools, it was still an exceptional learning environment for Black children. It was not until 1870 when “Massachusetts legislature passes the landmark Drawing Act, authorizing public schools to include drawing in the curriculum” that Black student began to receive intentional exposure to the arts in primary schools by Black art educators (Lawton, 2017, p. 103). Drawing was recognized for the value it had on the development of children, and it was quickly and universally implemented in Black schools. Lawton (2017) found that Black schools hired a formal drawing teacher two years before White schools. The way drawing was structured in Black vs White schools varied, “the drawing teacher for black schools instructed classroom teachers once per week and visited all the schools to supervise instruction” (Lawton, 2017, p. 103). Not only were Black students being taught about art in public schools, but they were being taught by Black art educators.



Lawton found a considerable amount of information about a Black art educator named Thomas Watson Hunster. When Hunster was hired to teach art in Black schools to Black students, it showed a new level of commitment to the Black community on behalf of the Board of Trustees. Hunster was born free in Cincinnati, OH and attended preparatory school at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, OH (Lawton, 2017). Interestingly art was not offered at Antioch which left Lawton to wonder how he received his art education, she suggests that he could have been trained by Silas Jerome Uhl who also lived in Ohio at the time (Lawton, 2017). Lawton (2017) says Hunster had the aspiration of studying art in Paris but took a position teaching art in D.C. and never left, making a career in art education.

Hunster took his position very seriously and strove to make art an important part of his students lives. He wanted art to be relevant to the lives of his students and he saw the importance in displaying their work. In addition, he would consistently praise their work probably causing his students to feel successful (Lawton, 2017). There were several things Hunster did to make art relevant to his students, one of which was the method in which he taught figure drawing. “He challenged his students to draw themselves engaging in occupations or trades as well as leisure activities of interest to them” (Lawton, 2017, 108). This made the art his students created meaningful to them.

Not only were the fine arts being taught in schools to Black students but so were the manual arts. Hunster incorporated industrial drawing into the curriculum well before the time it was introduced into White schools (Lawton, 2017). He created opportunities for the Black community and his students to engage with art by creating galleries and museums. Hunster was a trailblazer in Washington D.C. for a thriving art education curriculum and he paved the way for Black people to seek positions as art educators in public schools. He laid the groundwork for art

educators who followed him by designing the curriculum for each grade level and started the tradition of annual art exhibitions for students work.

Black artists were few and far between at the time, let alone Black art educators. After Hunster, another Black art educator whom Hunster trained began making waves in the public school system, Alma Thomas. Alma got her start as the assistant director of drawing at the Cheyney Training School for Teachers in Pennsylvania (Benjamin, 1998; Gohari, 2012). She was not there for long before she began to seek employment in a public school district. In 1925, Alma began working as an art instructor at Shaw Junior High School and remained an educator at Shaw of thirty-five years (Benjamin, 1998; Gohari, 2012). Alma wanted to reach her students as well as the entire Black community. Her goal was to do more than teach Black children how to draw and she had the desire to “foster a keener appreciation of art among African American junior high school students...” (Benjamin, 1998, p. 22) by taking student to art galleries. She regularly brought her students to Howard University, her alma mater, and they would engage with Howards art gallery and its curator. This exposed students to art from around the world and especially art created by Black artists.

After beginning her work at Shaw, Thomas continued her education in art education from the Teachers College at Colombia University (Benjamin, 1998). Benjamin (1998) writes “she took classes in teaching fine arts in secondary schools, teaching theories and techniques, clay modeling, principles of art structure, amateur play production, drawing and painting, art structure and lettering, and pottery” (p. 23). Alma became very well versed in art education and was a very successful and competent art educator in the public school system. She was one of the few working Black art educators that had the opportunity to teach art and foster an appreciation for art in the Black community. Even with the successful effort of Alma Thomas and Thomas

Hunster, institutional racism was still inescapable Black artists were constantly denied and rejected membership in local artists societies and from skilled artists teaching institutions (Lawton, 2017).

### **Brown v The Board of Education of Topeka Kansas**

In the summer of 1951, Oliver Brown, one of the plaintiffs in *Brown v. Board*, wanted to enroll his daughter Linda into summer school. Luckily there was a school in their neighborhood a few blocks away from their home. Mr. Brown spoke to the principle concerning his daughter's admittance into the school, but Linda was refused enrollment. She was denied enrollment into their neighborhood school because she was Black. In 1951 Topeka, Kansas, much like the rest of the United States, racial segregation was normal. Public facilities including schools were created to be separate for Black and White citizens. This was justified under the supreme court decision in the court case *Plessy v Ferguson*.

Homer Plessy, the plaintiff in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, was a man of mixed ancestry that self-characterize as more White than Black. During the time of southern reconstruction Black and White citizens coexisted in many public arenas. At the end of reconstruction, segregation became universally accepted and practiced. Black and White citizens had separate schools, hotels, restaurants, drinking fountains etc. Plessy, a New Orleans native, decided to test the strength of the new segregation laws by sitting in the Whites only section of a train car. Homer Plessy could pass, meaning without telling people he was Black he could pass for a White person. On the train car he announced himself as a Black man sitting in the White section in order to get attention, he was then told to move but he refused to give up his seat leading to his arrest. Unfortunately, this test case failed and lead to the creation of the legal doctrine of separate but equal, as long as facilities were equal they could remain separate.

With there being an “equal” school for Linda Brown to attend she was refused enrollment into the White school around the corner from her home. Mr. Brown was not arguing that the White school was better than the Black school, in reality the White school was closer to his home and he did not understand why he needed to send his daughter to a school that was miles away when there was a perfectly good school close by. Mr. Brown made the decision to partner with four similar cases to file a lawsuit against Topeka’s Board of education. *Brown v Board of education of Topeka Kansas*, 1954, involved five class-action suits filed on behalf of Black students who were denied enrollment into schools attended by White children. The other cases involved the states of Delaware, South Carolina, Virginia and the District of Colombia.

The opinion of the court written by Chief Justice Warren states “in each case other than the Delaware case, a three- judge federal district court denied relief to the plaintiffs on the so-called ‘separate but equal’ doctrine announced by this court...In the Delaware case, the Supreme Court of Delaware adhered to that doctrine, but ordered that the plaintiffs be admitted to the white schools because of their superiority to the Negro schools” (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954). In the South Carolina, Virginia and Kansas cases the court found that the tangible facilities and factors were either equal or becoming equalized so *Plessy* would stand, but they in turn looked at the effect segregation itself had on public education. The opinion written by Chief Justice Warren was attempting to determine if the decision reached in *Plessy* should be held inapplicable to public education. The Brown decision made it unconstitutional to separate children on the base of race. Justice Warren writes “... to separate [the minority school children] from other of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority...” (Russo, Harris III, & Sandidge, 1994, p. 186). It is unclear if there were studies to support the claim that Black students felt inferior, or if this was said in order to support desegregation.

Russo, Harris III, and Sandidge (1994) in their analysis of the Brown opinion agree that it was a monumental decision, but they highlight that it did not address any remedies (p.299). It was announced that it was unconstitutional to have separate facilities on the basis of race because separate facilities are inherently unequal, but there were no instructions on how to desegregate society. The next year once again Chief Justice Warren wrote the court's opinion on *Brown II*, which was intended to help implement *Brown*. Russo, Harris III, and Sandidge (1994) found that "Brown II neither mandated an immediate end to nor set a timetable for eradicating school segregation," schools were required to make a prompt and reasonable start and to move with all deliberate speed (p. 299). This loophole allowed for school districts to take ten plus years to desegregate their schools.

What started as a father's desire to send his daughter to a public school closer to their home turned into the idea that Black schools were retarding the educational and mental development of Black children (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954). Black schools were not receiving the same attention and resources from school boards as White schools, but the school faculty was doing the best they could with what they were provided. More Black people than ever had access to education and took advantage of the opportunity. In a round-about way, Mr. Brown and several other Black people got their wish to attend any school of their choice, but this did not come without resistance from White citizens. Not only was there resistance from some members of the White community but now the idea that Black students and Black educators were inferior was perpetuated. Not only were Black students considered mentally inferior but Black teachers were branded with the label of incompetency. This idea of inferiority and incompetency devastated the Black community and the Black teaching force.

### **The Mass Firing of Black Educators and the Deemphasized Ramifications of Brown**

In both *Brown* and *Brown II*, in the opinion written by Chief Justice Warren, teachers were mentioned less than three times. Teachers who were also going to be affected by desegregation of public schools were barely mentioned. Specifically, the omission of Black teachers led to the mass firing of teachers of color. Black schools across the country were forcefully being closed with little to no regard for the teachers. The closings caused Black educators across the nation to be fired without reason, from elementary to the colligate level. Black professors with tenure contracts were given two months severance pay and dismissed from their positions (Fultz, 2004). Some Black communities were threatened that if they pushed to desegregate their schools, all their Black teachers would purposely be replaced by White teachers (Fultz, 2004). It was also implied in some communities that the main goal was desegregation, so it did not matter that Black teachers lost their jobs if the schools were desegregated.

This merge was devastating for Black educators and faculty. Fultz (2004) found that Black school staff at all levels from teachers and principals to cafeteria workers were all fired, demoted, harassed and bullied as White communities reacted to mandated desegregation. There were several different ways in which Black educators were displaced. The dismissals, demotions, forced resignations, non-hiring, token promotions, reduced salaries and diminished responsibilities were the tactics used to eliminate Black educators. The state of Georgia went as far as to threaten to revoke the teaching license of any educator that supports or agreed to teach a mixed class (Fultz, 2004).

Educators did not sit by idly and allow themselves to continue to be displaced. Fultz found that the court case *Brooks v. School District of Moberly*, Missouri was the most significant case focusing on the displacement of Black educators. In the case, several plaintiffs filed suit after eleven Black teachers were dismissed from the Moberly school system because the school where

they taught was closed due to desegregation. Five positions opened at the newly desegregated schools and instead of hiring any of the displaced Black teachers, who had a mix of experience ranging to 30 years and at least one educator with a Ph. D., the school board hires five new White teachers, two of whom had no classroom experience (Fultz, 2004). The argument of racial discrimination was rejected, and the courts sided with the school district and “the county superintendent’s claim that he objectively evaluated the competency of all the system’s teachers and found that all 97 White teachers were superior to all the African American teachers. The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals later upheld the District Court’s ruling and in 1959 the United States Supreme Court refused to review the decision” (Fultz, 2004, p. 20). It is difficult to believe that there was not even one Black educator that was found experienced enough to be employed. Unfortunately, even preceding *Brown*, Black educators were usually only considered qualified to teach Black students.

Most displacements came from the nonrenewal of contracts. Some teachers would not be told of their termination until the very end of the school year, while others were told that they would be retained just to be dismissed (Fultz, 2004). In all the different instances, the Black educators were never given a formal explanation for their termination. Another common practice was to assign Black educators to teach subjects out of their discipline just to dismiss them due to incompetence. Educators were also being downgraded. Highschool teachers were assigned to teach elementary school, or veteran educators would be assigned to faculty positions such as librarians or hall monitors. Black educators were put into subordinate roles to serve as co-teachers, stripping them of any authority. Several Black educators resigned because of these belittling actions, others protested and were dismissed because of it. Non-hiring was just as detrimental to the Black educators as dismissals and displacements.

## **Why Art Education Needs More Black Educators**

In all the displacements, dismissals and non-hiring of Black educators, I began looking to see where Black art educators and art programs were mentioned. Although there was no specific mention of how Black art educators were affected, art programs in general were usually terminated. Black students would “have art once a week for 40 minutes, have few art teachers, with few art supplies and sometimes – ZERO- budgets, whose art is cancelled...” (Quinn, 2005, p. 189). If Black educators that were teaching traditional subjects were constantly being displaced, I believe it is safe to assume Black art educators were also the first ones to be dismissed. The arts are commonly seen as an indulgence something only the rich and privileged have the means to partake in.

As I have always understood it from a contemporary perspective, arts and culture are connected to one another. Historically, cultural diversity was not a part of most art programs in America according to Haynes (1993). When desegregation was mandated, and Black students began attending previously all White schools. Where diverse culture was generally not included in curriculum, Black culture was undoubtedly neglected and rejected in a similar manner to Black teachers. When *Brown* was passed, Ware and Ware (2006) bring up an interesting point when it comes to ‘shared’ culture, saying that the Supreme Court Justices must have thought that there was an agreement when it came to Americas cultural and inherently artistic identity. The courts failed to realize or acknowledge that not all Americans have a shared understanding of culture, nor do they have a shared perspective of history.

Ware and Ware (2006) go on to say that outside of language, there has never been one set of cultural values or cultural identity that shape a shared identity for all Americans (p. 342). With the majority population in America being of European descent and whose values and traditions



and based on Anglo- Saxon cultural norms, Black people and their cultures were isolated. Black people of African descent were forced to abandon their ancestral culture and they were forced to develop their own set of values and traditions (Ware & Ware, 2006, p. 342). Those newly created cultural values and ideas were often conflicting with White Americans. With these conflicting cultural values and perspectives, Wear and Wear raise the question of what cultural values should be included into American public schools.

The idea of mixing arts and culture came about in the post-*Brown* era. Haynes (1993) found that in the pre-*Brown* era not many art educators took note of thoughts or opinions concerning the incorporation of cultural heritage into art programs. A more culturally diverse curriculum became increasingly popular after the *Brown* decision. In the 70s there was an increase in the inclusion of multiculturalism in curriculum, which gave freedom to cultural and ethnic minorities to express themselves and their heritage (Haynes, 1993). Haynes says “After the Brown I decision a heightened consciousness concerning the inequalities of the black child’s education produced writings by art educators to postulate about the inclusion of culture in an art curriculum” (1993, p. 25). Classrooms were diverse for the first time in history including more than one race and ethnic background.

## CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

### Qualitative Research

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) describe qualitative research as the “study of things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them” (p. 3). The impact of qualitative research has the ability to transform the world because, according to Creswell (2013), qualitative researchers discover a social or human problem. By discovering a real-world problem, qualitative researchers have the ability to gather information to recommend a real-world solution. Creswell (2013) states, “to study this problem, qualitative researchers use an emerging qualitative approach to inquiry, the collection of data in a natural setting sensitive to the people and places under the study...” (p. 44). Through a qualitative study, patterns and themes are established and in the final report the problem is described and interpreted, a call for change can occur, or the research can contribute to the literature (Creswell, 2013). My research will be contributing to the literature, covering the scarcely researched topic of Black art educators after *Brown*. I look at the mass firings of Black educators after the *Brown* decision and determine the effect this had on the matriculation of Black art educators.

Qualitative researchers are provided the freedom to use multiple methods. They are able to “gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations, and documents rather than rely on a single data source” (Creswell, 2013, p. 45). For the purposes of my study, qualitative research is the most viable option because as I engage in historical research. My aim is to study the displacement of Black art educators and how their absence impacted the art education of Black students. I researched the capacity in which Black children were being educated in the visual arts prior to *Brown*, and during the time immediately following the emancipation of

enslaved Africans. I examine both primary and secondary historical documents to surmise how the employment of Black art educators has changed from the antebellum era to modern day.

### **Theoretical Frameworks**

The theoretical frameworks I utilize to frame my research are critical race theory (CRT) and critical multiculturalism. Critical race theory emerged from and expanded upon critical legal studies (CLS) which came about in the 1970s as a result of the Modern Civil Rights Movement. The scholars of CLS “questioned the role of the traditional legal system in legitimizing oppressive social structures” (Yosso, Parker, Solórzano & Lynn, 2005, p. 2). The court system was failing people of color because of “color blind” practices. Proclaiming colorblindness during this time “denied the reality of a racialized society and its impact on ‘raced’ people in their everyday lives” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 48). To many critics, CLS theorists did not go far enough in their push to combat the legitimization of oppressive social structures. Critics say CLS theorists did not account for race and racism as much as was necessary, nor did they consider the lived experiences and histories of those oppressed by institutionalized racism (Yosso et al., 2005). Critical race theory sought to use the tenets of critical legal studies as foundational to the creation of this new theory.

According to Delgado and Stefancic (2001), “Critical race theory sprang up in the mid-1970s, as a number of lawyers, activists, and legal scholars across the country realized, more or less simultaneously, that the heady advances of the civil rights era of the 1960s had stalled and, in many respects, were being rolled back” (p. 2-3). CRT theorists believed race and systemic racism played a much larger role in social justice and fighting oppressive social structures. For the purpose of my research, look at the inequalities in the education system through a CRT lens

because institutionalized racism has historically been at the crux of our social economic systems, especially within education.

CRT “seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural, cultural, and impersonal aspects of education that maintain the marginal position and subordination of African American and Latino students” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2000, p. 42). Having been applied to education, CRT scholars have examined how race and racism have shaped schooling structures and practices. Through CRT, according to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), an attempt is made to theorize race and use it as an analytic tool for understanding school inequality. They go on to say that race is a factor in inequality because “thinking of race strictly as an ideological construct denies the reality of a racialized society and its impact on ‘raced’ people in their everyday lives. On the other hand, thinking of race solely as an objective condition denies the problematic aspects of race...” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 48). Schools play a significant role in structuring inequality and demotivating Black students by making them feel that their “race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples” (Woodson, 1933, p. xiii).

Varying scholars have contributed literature about the tenets of CRT. Solórzano (1997, 1998) identified the following five tenets in education: intersectionality of race and racism with other forms of subordination, challenge to dominant ideology, commitment to social justice, centrality of experiential knowledge, and transdisciplinary perspective. CRT stands on the premise that race and racism are “central, endemic, permanent, and a fundamental part of defining and explaining how U.S. society functions” (Bell, 1992; Russell, 1992; as cited in Yosso et al., 2005, p. 28). CRT exists to challenge White privilege and works to create and support counter narratives. Other ways of knowing and experiential knowledge are also recognized as legitimate through CRT.

The subordination of educators of color was pervasive during and after the mandatory desegregation of public schools (Fultz, 2004; Tillman, 2004; Oakley et al., 2009). My research focuses on how pervasive power structures and dominant narratives potentially caused the displacement of Black art educators and how their absence could have disrupted the art education of Black students, causing them to be overlooked and underserved in the arts. I worked to construct a counter-narrative to the dominant narrative of public school desegregation, by centering Blackness and the experiences of people of color. I specifically considered the roles that social justice, dominant ideologies and power structures played in the retention, firing or non-hiring of Black art educators after the *Brown* decision. I intentionally considered the tenets of CRT and the negative influences White privilege had in the mass firing of educators, making CRT an appropriate framework to employ (Lawton, 2018). CRT also allows for the examination of “contexts, socio-political events, personal histories, and legal trends that impact a participant’s narrative” (Lawton, 2018, p. 376).

Critical multiculturalism, similar to CRT, analyzes oppression and unequal power structures in education (May & Sleeter, 2010). Critical multiculturalism aligns itself with antiracist education, critical race theory, critical pedagogy, but it finds its roots in the critique of liberal multicultural education (May & Sleeter, 2010). Although liberal multicultural education incorporated culture into curriculum, it treated culture as a “thing.” Culture was “frequently trivialized, taking the form of... holiday celebrations or lessons focusing on self- esteem” (May & Sleeter, 2010, p. 7). Even though culture was incorporated, teaching culture as an added-on idea or an afterthought is the practice of turning one culture into the other. Othering is treating a person or people group as intrinsically different to the dominant group or culture. It is claiming that the dominant culture is normal, making cultural minorities abnormal and thus they are

‘others’. The cultures of people of color are commonly framed as only being relevant when speaking about their oppression and their difference to the dominant culture. Critics of liberal multicultural education argued that it focused on the impact of curricular change while ignoring other issues such as racism, sexism, discrimination which effected students of color the most (May & Sleeter, 2010). No change was expected or predicted to come from liberal multicultural education.

According to May and Sleeter (2010), critical multiculturalism “gives priority to structural analysis of unequal power relationships, analyzing the role of institutionalized inequities...” (p. 10). This theory directly challenges racism instead of only celebrating cultural differences. There are three central tenets of critical multiculturalism; deconstruction of the values and practices established by the dominant group, highlighting the cultural knowledge of minorities, and the encouraged engagement with all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, especially one’s own (Acuff, 2013).

When the historical event of *Brown* is discussed it is commonly described as the positive and primary peaceful transition to integrated schools. This perpetuated narrative fails to represent the perspective of Black educators and Black students. For these individual’s integration in some places eliminated a career path for Black educators and it fractured Black students’ relationship with education by stunting the educational growth and support they had grown accustomed to. Through the lenses of critical multiculturalism, a counter narrative has been created and brought to the forefront of the school desegregation discussion.

Furthermore, I used critical multiculturalism because of its attention to taking an anti-racism stance and the way it supports intentional cultural representation in curricula. I research the lack of Black art educators and art educators of color teaching in public schools because

Black children are potentially negatively impacted by the lack of representation. The tenets of critical multiculturalism support student engagement with diverse cultures, especially their own. Having more people of color represented in art education may allow for more engagement with different cultures outside of the dominant culture. If this engagement is led by Black art educators and art educators of color it is less likely to fall into the category of othering. Acuff (2013) acknowledges that it is common for knowledge of the dominant culture to be normalized and universalized, reinforcing the need for critical multiculturalism to give value and voice to minorities and marginalized people of color.

### **Qualitative Approach: Historical Research**

Historical Research "attempts to systematically recapture the complex nuances, the people, meanings, events, and even ideas of the past that have influenced and shaped the present" (Berg & Lune, 2012, p. 305). By conducting historical research, I can surpass the limits of my understanding and provide contextualized information that supplies a durable link to the past (White, 2013). Historical research will be the best methodology to use to conduct my research because I am interested in the details and the ramifications of *Brown v the Board of Education of Topeka Kansas, 1954*. My research also engages with information relevant to antebellum America. Therefore, much of the information I was able to gather about that point in history will be in archived documents, newspapers, books and photographs.

While conducting my research I embodied the practices of a pragmatic historian by inserting myself "into the narrative through questions, first person voice and side bars" (White, 2013, p. 151). I ask those who encounter my research to consider the context in which *Brown* happened, and how that event is still relevant today. White (2013) states:

The intrinsic value of historical research will come to you through your interest in: (1) the objects, people, and/ or systems that you are studying; (2) the tasks involved in carrying out your research; (3) the telling of the story to others through conversation, presentation and papers; (4) the theorizing or thinking you do as you reflect upon your data and findings (p.152)

This research equally affects me, the researcher, and those reading my work. I have personal connections to this research because I am a Black female who is an aspiring art educator, so throughout this research I have engaged with the history of my future.

Historic research involves collecting primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources are more common, being the explained as histories written by others (White, 2013). Primary sources are “original artifacts that have not been interpreted by a second party” (White, 2013, p. 154). Primary sources include archived materials, letters, artworks, photographs etc. I utilized both primary and secondary sources in my data analysis.

## **Method**

My chosen qualitative approach of historical research prompted me to employ the specific data analysis method of content analysis to answer my research questions. This was the most efficient form of data analysis for the historical research I conducted because my goal was to organize, make sense of, and give insight into a large amount of information over a broad spectrum of time. The information I collected primarily came in the form of images, documents, and other word and visually based data. The data spans from the years 1865 to 1965. This spectrum of time presented copious data that articulated the art education experiences of Black



students at the hands and minds of Black art educators pre-*Brown*. Once my data was collected, I analyzed the information using content analysis.

Content analysis can be described as an interpretive and naturalistic approach to research that can be both observational and narrative in nature, it is a technique that makes inferences by systematically and objectively identifying messages (Holsti, 1968; Berelson, 1952). Utilizing content analysis allowed me to look for patterns, connections, relationships, repetitive words and themes in the documents and images I collected. Discovering these connections supported me in making inferences about the capacity in which Black students were being educated in the visual arts prior to and immediately following *Brown* by Black art educators, and to the extent in which Black art educators were being employed.

In order to properly and effectively analyze the content I collected, I coded the data. To code, I categorized and dissected word based and visual data in order to discover the emerging patterns and themes. The patterns and themes I discovered lead me to create meaningful insights into how *Brown* effected the employment of Black art educators and the education of Black students in the visual arts. I coded data by first categorizing all the primary sources of information into three groups; photographs of Black people engaging in the visual arts, school curricula, legal documents and other historical promotional materials. Once my sources were categorized, I began to search for emerging themes within the categories.

Before I coded and categorized the primary sources of information I compiled two lists. One of prominent Black art educators and the other of formal and informal art education institutions created to educate and support Black artist. My list of prominent Black art educators included the name of the educator, what Black art educator(s) influenced them and what Black artist(s) and art educator(s) they influenced. The list I documented resembled a family tree

because I could identify three generations of Black art educators practicing prior to *Brown*. The other list comprised of organizations where Black students were formally educated in the arts, colleges and universities, and where Black students were informally educated in the arts, community centers and art societies. The list included who founded the department or program respectively and which Black art educators instructed at the institution or center. These two foundational lists aided in establishing the level of art education exposure that was available to Black students prior to *Brown*, and where Black art educators were being employed. I used this list as a reference when searching for my primary sources such as photographs and curricula.

I collected photographs that document Black art educators teaching art classes to Black students. This gave visual evidence of the employment of Black art educators and the experience Black students had with the visual arts. I coded and analyzed these photographs by providing a detailed description of the content of each image, including when and where the photograph was taken, and if possible, I named the individuals in the image. My detailed description of the image included information such as how many people were photographed, were they adults or children, what was the setting in which the photograph was taken, what are the people doing, etc.

I gathered photographs from three primary places; textbooks, scholarly articles, and online. Primarily, I began my search for photographs in textbooks and articles. After I exhausted the books and articles, I looked online for photographs. I would use the terms included in the description of the photographs I found in textbooks to search for images online. Key terms included the names of practicing Black art educators followed by phrases such as, “teaching” and “in the classroom.” I then used the given descriptions of the online images to search for more images online, creating a snowball effect.

Legal documents were also collected and analyzed for my historical research. These documents were important to be included in my data because they give critical insight into the rationale of public school desegregation. The main court transcript I analyzed is *Brown v The Board of education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954*. *Brown* was analyzed because it was the court case that informed my research into the mass firing of Black art educators. *Brown* is considered a landmark Civil Rights court case because of the way its findings impacted society leading to formalized public-school desegregation.

To analyze and code this legal document, I read it several times identifying and paying attention to different emergent themes with each pass. I noted recurring words and phrases that were present and I also took note of words and phrases I determined to be important that were scarce or altogether missing. The words and phrases that I found and the words that were absent added insight into how these legal documents contributed to the act of dismissing Black art educators from the classroom. For example, I found the word “teacher/teachers” was used only one time. I paid attention to the language in this legal document, and the lack thereof, because the document actually had the potential to secure Black educators’ place in schools upon the desegregation of public schools.

Collecting and analyzing general school curricula also helped me answer my research questions. These course curricula showed me when, where and how Black students were instructed in the visual arts. The aim in gathering these curricula was to examine course curricula from Black public schools and HBCUs. This gave me documented insight into the capacity in which art was being taught in Black schools to Black students. The documentation of visual art being taught in schools was important to consider because school curricula are determined by administration. The presence of art class on general school curricula would be documentation

that supported the idea that art was deemed of value to teach to Black students. I collected curricula and the plans of study used at Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). In order to have a larger pool of information, I attempted to collect and analyzed what Black students were being taught at both the primary and secondary levels. To analyze and code these course curricula I documented which grade levels visual art education was being taught, ranging from elementary to the collegiate level. Then, I considered who taught the art classes, Black or White art educators, and what kind of art classes were offered, visual art class or another genre?

Along with public school curricula at the primary and secondary level, I investigated arts activities happening in community art centers or other institutes and organizations outside of schools where Black students received an art education by Black art educators. This look into pre-*Brown* and post-*Brown* art education for Black students in the form of photographs, legal documents, and school curricula was necessary background information for me to collect for the purpose of answering my research questions. Using content analysis helped me to make connections amongst data sets, decipher the data I collected and discover emerging themes.

### **Utilizing Critical Frameworks**

Both CRT and critical multiculturalism guided me in analyzing my data. Once my data was processed, I analyzed it by looking at the coded information through the tenet of both CRT and critical multiculturalism. These tenets guided me in what exactly to be looking for in the data I collected and processed. I determined how closely the information in my processed data aligned with the tenet of my theoretical frameworks and how the information assisted me in answering my research questions. The tenets of CRT identified by Solórzano (1997, 1998) that I utilized for the purposes of my analysis were: challenge to dominant ideology and commitment to social justice. The tenets of critical multiculturalism I utilize highlight the cultural knowledge

of minorities and the encourage engagement with all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, especially one's own (Acuff, 2013).

The CRT tenet, commitment to social justice, was one of the lenses I looked through when categorizing and processing my data. My questions center around the supreme court case of *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka Kansas, 1954*, which was an influential Civil Rights case during the Modern Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement exemplified social justice because of its fight for racial equity and equal opportunity. Of the data I collected, I looked to see if and how it may have exemplified or advocated for social justice for minorities in the arts. Data aligning with this tenet often came in the form of photographs and legal documents.

Challenging dominant ideologies and power structures was the other tenet of CRT I utilized to analyze my data. The principles of objectivity and colorblindness are not effective when striving for racial diversity and inclusivity because they don't take into consideration the systemic disadvantage people of color have. While analyzing my data I looked for instances where power structures were being challenged and minorities, specifically Black people, were being served and advocated for. The tenet of critical multiculturalism that closely aligns with this CRT tenet is that of highlighting the cultural knowledge of minorities. It is more common that knowledge of the dominant culture is normalized, and in my data, I looked to see where the opposite was true. In my data I looked for evidence of information for Black people and about Black people being shared and perpetuated. Data aligning with these tenants often came in the form of photographs and school curricula.

The last tenet I utilized to analyze my data was the critical multiculturalism tenet of encouraged engagement with all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, especially one's own (Acuff,

2013). This tenet was pertinent in the analysis of my data because I find it imperative that students of color interact with art educators of color during their educational careers. In the data I collected, I looked to see when, where and how Black students engaged with their Black peers and Black art educators. Data aligning with this tenet often came in the form of photographs and school curricula.

## CHAPTER 4: DATA ANALYSIS

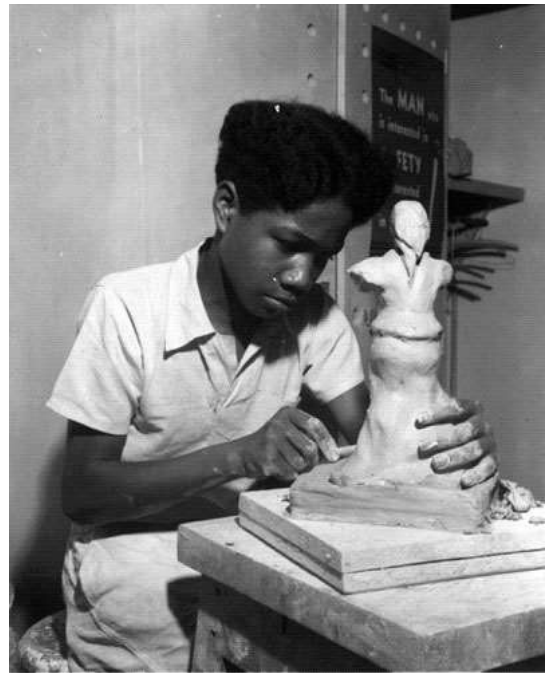
To study the effect *Brown v Board* had on Black art educators, it was vital to question the capacity in which art was being taught by Black educators to Black students prior to *Brown*. Understanding how *Brown* may have impacted Black art educators required me to know if there were actually Black art educators to be impacted. To answer this research question, I analyzed data using a critical multiculturalism framework, which supports “encouraged engagement” with all ethnic and cultural backgrounds, especially one’s own. This tenet of critical multiculturalism supports my research question because if Black students were being encouraged to participate in their culture through the arts during the time in U.S. history prior to *Brown*, the encouragement was likely coming from a person of color. This can be inferred because the education system was legally segregated throughout most of the United States until the late 1950’s.

I also analyzed data using a critical race theory (CRT) framework that challenges the dominant ideology and power structures. This tenant of CRT further supports my research question because the existence of Black art educators teaching Black students art is contrary to the dominant narrative. A Black art educator could teach art to Black students in a way that considered their shared lived experiences. Black art educators would most likely be experiencing the same or a similar racially charged environment as their Black students. This commonality would impact the positionality in which they taught from. It is possible that Black art educators could confidently and comfortably include discussions of race and culture into their pedagogy. The presence of Black art educators could potentially empower Black students to become artists and art educators, dismantling the power structures put in place to exclude Black people from the fine arts.

I found evidence of Black students engaging with their own culture through the arts, as depicted in figure 1, and this drove me to uncover who was teaching them. Figure 1 depicts a Black boy sculpting a figure out of clay at the Harlem Community Arts Center in New York City in the late 1930's. I presume this Black student was being taught by a Black art educator because during this time the Harlem Community Arts Center was directed by Augusta Savage (1892-1962). Savage was a Black sculptor and art educator, who built her career during the New Negro Movement. She made a point to hire her former students and her “New Negro Contemporaries” to instruct at the Arts Center (Bey, 2017, p. 133). The presence of this sculpting student challenges the narrative surrounding the engagement Black students had with the fine arts before *Brown*. The narrative is further challenged since he is likely being instructed by a Black art educator. I was not only interested in who was teaching art to Black students such as this boy, but also, I was curious about where Black art educators were trained (if at all) to teach art.

**Figure 1**

*Black Boy Sculpting with Clay*



### **The Art Education of the American Negro**

In 1921, the art department at Howard University in Washington, D.C. was founded by James V. Herring (1887- 1968). This was the first art department at a Historically Black College or University (HBCU). The newly established art department was “not only supplying the best facilities for the study of the Fine Arts in general, but by means of regular courses of study, it equip its students for any special line of artistic work which they may desire to follow”

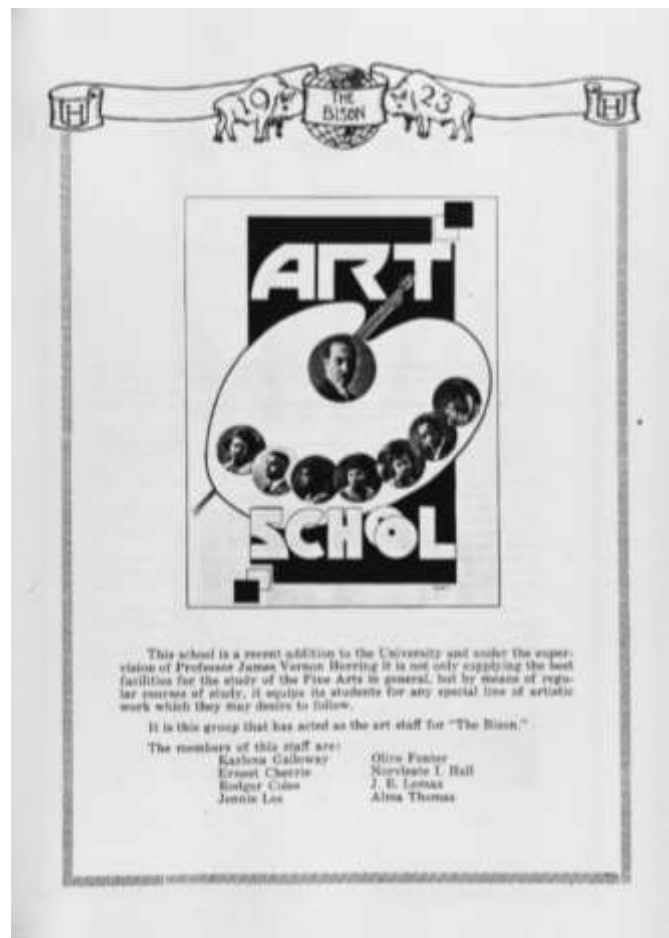


(Advertisement for the Art School, 1923). This description of Howards art school that is presented in figure 2 was found in *The Bison*, a yearbook providing information about the university's activities. The advertisement (figure 2) includes the description of the art school accompanied by photographs and the names of the members on staff at the time. The person featured in the center of the ad is James V. Herring himself. Included amongst the staff photos is Alma W. Thomas (1896-1978) who went on to have a successful career as an artist and an art educator. Alma Thomas was the first student to graduate from Howard University with a bachelor's in fine arts. As I will discuss later, Thomas played an important role in the Washington D.C. public school system as an art educator

Before the art department at Howard University was officially established, “courses in drawing and the history of ‘Antiquities’” were being taught as early as 1868 (VanDriver, 2017, p. 1201). There was a hiatus in art classes until the late 1880s once the arts became required for training students in the industrial arts industry (VanDriver, 2017). In 1891 art classes were transferred from the industrial department to the normal department. The normal department was responsible for training teachers. This move suggested an “emphasis was beginning to be placed on the educative value of drawing,”

**Figure 2**

*Howard's Art School Advertisement*



implying the arts were valuable for future employment (Dyson, 1941, p.140). Herring joined the department of architecture in 1921 where he initially taught three studio art classes. His ambition to start a standalone art department grew, along with resistance from trustees that he enviably overcame. Herring served as the Chair of the art department from 1921 until he retired in 1953.

Two years after the department was established a strong faculty was gathered, evident by the art school advertisement shown above. Key members of the faculty who joined the staff between 1929 and 1930 were James A. Porter, who succeeded Herring, James Lesesne Wells, and Loïs Mailou Jones. These instructors “offered a comprehensive studio art curriculum that prepared students for a range of professional careers—textile and graphic design, jewelry making, printmaking, painting, and ... many of these artists went on to teach at other institutions, thus extending Howard’s reach...” (VanDriver, 2017, p. 1205). The art department at Howard inspired the establishment of art departments at other HBCUs across the country. Its graduates staffed the new departments and also established and staffed art departments in public schools for Black students. Loïs Mailou Jones is depicted in figure 3 teaching an art class to eleven students in 1930. She is standing towards the left center presumably assisting a student with their project. This photograph is visual evidence of the existence of a Black art educator encouraging her students to engage with the arts.

**Figure 3**

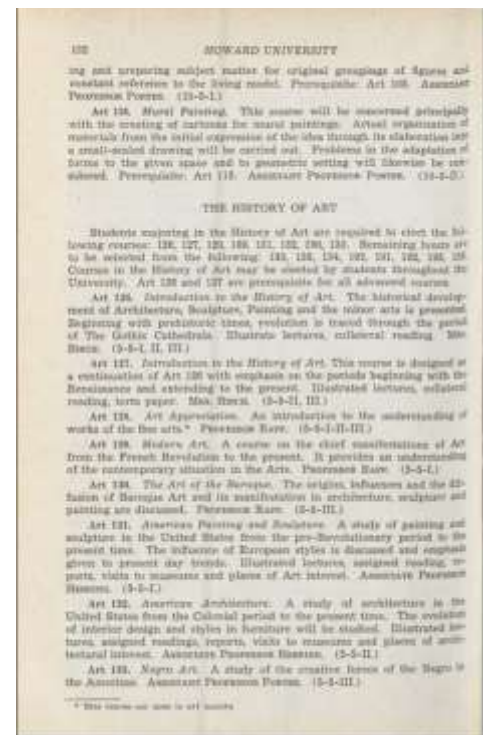
*Loïs Mailou Jones Teaching an Art Class at Howard*



By 1945, the art department at Howard University was offering a total of thirty-one studio art courses, twenty-two art history courses, and three art education courses according to the Howard University Bulletin: General Catalogue 1945-1946 – 1946-1947 (figures 4 and 5). This catalogue was a booklet of 508 pages detailing important information for students and faculty. The information ranged from a course catalogue of every department with descriptions of the classes, to admission regulations and the university calendar. One of the art history classes being offered during the 1945 academic school year was “Art 133. Negro Art.” Noted at the bottom of figure 4, this course was described as “a study of the creative forces of the Negro in the Americas.” The class was taught by James Porter, who was a Black art educator and an Assistant Professor at the time. Howard University offered an art class that taught Black students about “Negro Art” and it was taught by a Black art instructor. This is an exceptional discovery because I believe it means this HBCU valued Black art enough to dedicate an entire class to teaching on it. This art department at Howard could have continued to teach art from a Eurocentric perspective, only valuing European art, but the inclusion of Negro art supports the notion that during this time in history Black art educators at Black institutions were teaching differently than White art educators at predominantly White institutions.

**Figure 4**

*Howard University Bulletin Page 132*

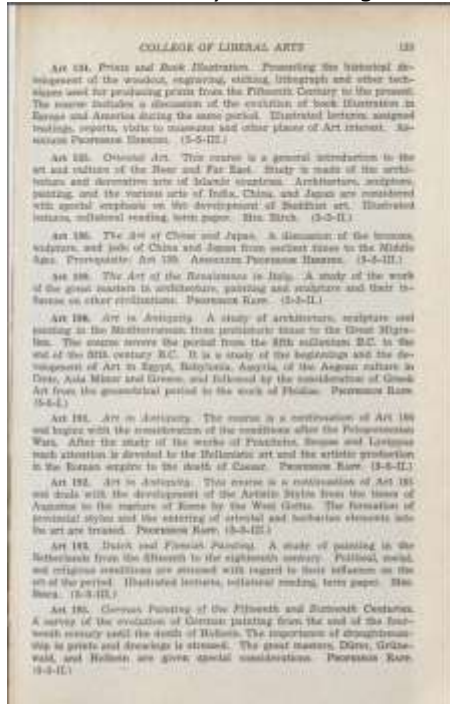


This art history class is in line with critical multiculturalism’s tenet that advocates for and encourages students to engage with their own cultural backgrounds. This engagement was

facilitated by a Black art educator reinforcing my utilization of that theme to answer my inquiry

**Figure 5**

*Howard University Bulletin Page 133*



into the employment of Black art educators prior to *Brown*.

Not only were students provided the opportunity to engage with their own cultures through the arts, they were also offered opportunities to engage with other cultures in courses such as “The Art of China and Japan,” “The Art of the Renaissance in Italy” and ‘Dutch and Flemish Painting’ depicted in figure 5. The Black art educators at Howard were taking control of the art history their Black students were learning. They were aware that their students needed to learn about the artistic contributions of their own culture, but the instructors also valued and acknowledged the importance of

the contributions of other cultures. Howard’s Black art educators worked diligently to support “varying, divergent historical and contemporary narratives throughout their instruction, planned coursework and classroom dialogue” (Acuff, 2018, p. 36). This common practice of cultural inclusion, representation and exposure by Black art educators embodies the tenet of critical multiculturalism that supports said engagement. White art educators would intentionally omit the artistic contributions of people of color because many did not believe there were notable contributions by people of color. Holland (1998) states “scholarly studies have often tended to appraise the works and careers of black artists only to the extent that they have been recognized by influential white individuals and institutions in Europe and America” (p. 31). Several Black artists go unrecognized by these institutions, thus they are unrecognized by White educators.

Black Art educators seem to disrupt that system by determining for themselves through their lived experience which artists should be taught in their classes.

Black students who attended Howard University were being taught in the arts by Black art educators, and some of the students were training to be art educators themselves. During the time of Jim Crow segregation, these Black art educators were preparing Black college students to become practicing artists and/or art educators. Howard was not the only collegiate institution that had a thriving art department. Hale Woodruff established the art department at Clark Atlanta University in 1931, shortly after that he and Nancy Prophet established the art department at Spelman College, and in 1940 Aaron Douglas founded Fisk University's art department.

The students at Fisk University in Nashville, Tennessee were both passionate about and exposed to the arts well before Aaron Douglas (1899- 1979) established an art department. Early evidence of interest in the visual arts and art education among the student body is evident in the establishment of the Tanner Art Club in 1904 (figure 6). This photograph depicts fifteen, all female members of the Tanner Art Club found in the 1930 Fisk University Yearbook. The photo was accompanied by a member list, a brief history and a description of the organization. This art club was created to "honor the most noted Negro artist Henry O. Tanner" according to the description in figure 6. The Black female founders of this club believed it was important to "become familiar with the masterpieces of artists of all nations" in order to teach "picture study as an adjunct to language teaching." This club advocated for "aesthetic development" to become a part of the curriculum for the elementary grades of the Fisk Training School. As early as 1904, a group of Black female educators at the Historically Black University Fisk, were advocating for diverse cultural engagement through the arts for Black elementary students. They did not

advocate for teaching an entirely Eurocentric art curricula, but these Black female art educators acknowledged and supported art and artists from all nations.

In 1929, before Aaron Douglas was officially a part of Fisk's faculty, the University President Charles S. Johnson commissioned him to paint a mural on the walls of the University's Library. Aaron Douglas was a renowned muralist during the Harlem Renaissance, he was known for incorporating African motifs and designs into his work. Davis (1984a) noted that Douglas "turned his work into a modernized version of African pattern reaching into the Black Experience and relating it to his African heritage figuratively as well as literally" (p. 96).

Douglas's involvement with the Harlem Renaissance heavily influenced his motivation for teaching and his teaching style. He recognized the power the arts had to transcend societal norms because his artwork was publicly accepted and respected among most people groups. That acceptance came with persistence and experience navigating the primarily elite White art world. His curriculum emphasized the elements of art and the principles of design, but his pedagogy extended beyond his classroom walls.

Aaron Douglas utilized what Bey (2011) calls "expanded pedagogy." Expanded pedagogy addresses both the educational needs of Black students and the socioeconomic challenges many Black students face. Expanded pedagogy presents opportunities for teaching and learning that go unnoticed or unaddressed (Bey, 2011). This pedagogy was specific to Black

**Figure 6**

*Tanner Art Club Page in the Fisk Yearbook*



art educators because they personally experienced a discriminatory art world. Douglas was a successful Black artist before he was an educator, and this personal experience caused him to be uniquely equipped to teach Black students with aspirations in the arts to overcome cultural and professional challenges. As a Black art educator, he knew how important it was for his Black students to confidently engage with their culture and navigate the Jim Crow Era. Contrastingly, White art educators would have no incentive to recognize or acknowledge such institutionalized racial power systems since they benefited from them most. Looking at the way Douglas educated his students through a CRT perspective, it is evident that he was challenging the dominant ideology. CRT, as applied to education, exists to “challenge the effects of race and racism on educational structures, practices and discourses” (Yosso et. al., 2005, p. 4). Not only were the students at Fisk learning the fundamentals of art, but they were learning how to function in the art world as a Black artist specifically from a Black art educator. Because Douglas’s students were Black, I believe he was compelled to prepare them for the discriminatory art world he experienced first-hand. He did not have the same luxury afforded to White art educators who strictly taught students about color and composition. Race was going to affect his students in much different ways than his White counterparts, so he found it imperative that he supplement his curriculum with culturally realistic information. The Black art students at Fisk University were free to explore their culture and heritage through artmaking with the guidance of Douglas.

Douglas founded the art department at Fisk University in 1940 and remained the chair of the department until 1966. For the first several years, Douglas was the only educator in the art department. Figure 7 is an image of Douglas assisting one of his students as she paints on an easel. This photograph is indicative of his commitment to teaching his students and the support that he gave them to explore their artistic creativity.

**Figure 7**

*Aaron Douglas Instructing a Student at Fisk*



Hale Woodruff (1900-1980) was another Black mural painter of the Renaissance who turned into an art educator. Similar to Douglas, Woodruff's career as a working artist consumed the early years of his life. Woodruff was one of thousands of artists who traveled to Paris during the 1920's and 30s because France was seen "as a place where they [Black artists] could openly be creative and have the opportunity to mingle with a community who had similar interests" (Sumrell, 2013, p. 122). These artists including Woodruff were also seeking an escape from the

discrimination and racism that consumed the United States. Opportunities such as learning from and about masters of art were offered to Woodruff in France. His artistic abilities thrived because even though he was in Europe, he was surrounded by a flourishing Black community that was collectively immersing themselves into a foreign culture scene (Davis, 1984b; Sumrell, 2013). While in France, Woodruff met Henry O. Tanner (the inspiration of the Tanner Art Club at Fisk), a Black artist whom he admired from his youth (Davis, 1984b). With Tanner, Woodruff discussed the art scene in America concerning Black artists. As a Black artist, Woodruff knew firsthand the discrimination the Black art community was enduring. His knowledge of these inequalities most likely led him to become one of the "leading members of the international New Negro Movement occurring within the visual arts at the time" (Sumrell, 2013, p. 122)

Paris was very fruitful for Woodruff; it was where he developed his unique style of painting. Even with his success, Woodruff still faced financial issues. Due to the fact that he was



not a French citizen, employment was unavailable to him. He submitted his artworks to “exhibits in both France and the United States in the hopes of winning cash prizes to further fund his trip” but his efforts still could not sustain him (Sumrell, 2013, p. 124). Woodruff was in France for four years from 1927- 1931, before he returned to America to accept a job offer to teach. Woodruff was reluctant to become a classroom teacher because he wanted to continue his career as a full-time artist, and he knew if he accepted the job he would have to sacrifice his fine art career.

Due to financial necessity Woodruff accepted Atlanta University President, Dr. John Hope’s offer to teach and established an art department at Atlanta University in Atlanta, Georgia in the fall of 1931. Within a few years, the department serviced students at varying colleges and universities, such as Morris Brown, Clark, Spelman, and Morehouse, which all made up the Atlanta University Center (AUC). This hub of schools in Atlanta became an esteemed training facility for Black art students (Davis, 1984b). In addition to higher educational institutions, when Woodruff began teaching with the AUC, he was also appointed to be the head of the art department of their laboratory school which serviced kindergarten through pre-college students (Amaki, 2007; Davis, 1984b).

Woodruff was a very beloved and successful art educator. Many of his students went on to have successful careers as artists and art educators. According to Davis (1984b), “A 1940 university report records that Woodruff’s art graduates had filled sixteen teaching posts in colleges and schools. On eleven occasions individuals of this group had won prizes or awards in national exhibitions” (p. 151). As a Black art educator, Woodruff felt a sense of responsibility to teach his students about maintaining cultural awareness within their art. He educated his students

on how to depict elements from their heritage in an aesthetically pleasing manner (Bey, 2011; Davis, 1984; Sumrell, 2013).

Even though teaching was new for him, Woodruff viewed the job as an opportunity to impart a sense of cultural and social responsibility onto the next generation of Black artists and art educators (Amaki 2007). He was only able to teach from this position because he was a Black educator teaching Black students. Woodruff said “I was a novice, indeed, not having taught before. So I brought to the class what I had learned in the last few years. The youngsters were excited. To me this was a very rewarding experience” (Private archives of Mary Parks Washington, 1974; as cited by Amaki, 2007, p. 28). As one of his students, Mary Parks Washington (2007) reports that Woodruff always encouraged his students to be proud of their racial heritage and to allow their experiences as Black Americans to inspire their work.

I attribute Woodruff’s success as an art educator to the sheer commitment he had to the success of his Black students and his innovative teaching and mentoring style. As he stated himself, he brought to the class what he had learned over the past few years. Just like Douglas, Woodruff also implemented expanded pedagogy outlined by Bey (2011). Contrary to dominant actions, Woodruff acknowledges the systematic disadvantage people of color face in the art world and he prepared his students to thrive in that world, this was only possible for him because he was a Black art educator. His experience as a Black artist directly influenced how he taught his Black students. Figure 8 is a photograph of Woodruff teaching what looks like a drawing class to six of his students. He is on the right side of the classroom observing a student as she works. According to Amaki (2007), Woodruff excelled as an educator because he offered “exceptional guidance in terms of art making, presentation practices and history of art, he pushed boundaries of traditional teaching by challenging students to consider art as a tactical conduit of

ancestral legacy and a strategic impetus for social change” (Amaki, 2007, p. 23). As a Black art educator, Woodruff must have known the impact more Black artists and Art educators would have had on society, and that their art and teaching style could have impacted societal norms. This photograph (figure 8) illustrates the guidance he gave to his students and how he was always engaged in their work.

**Figure 8**

*Hale Woodruff Instructing an Art Class at Spelman*



Being a Black artist, Woodruff knew how important it was to create art from a place of cultural awareness and understanding. As one of the first Black artists to study and be influenced by African Art, Woodruff was effective in exemplifying to his students what it meant to engage with one’s own culture. Woodruff, in cooperation with Nancy Elizabeth Prophet, Anne Cook and John McLinn Ross, turned the Atlanta University Center (Morehouse, Spelman, Clark, Morris Brown) into an epicenter of instruction in the visual arts for Black students in the southeast. The Atlanta University Center’s Art Department approached the same level of notoriety as the Art Department at Howard University, which was ten years it’s senior.

Dr. John Hope and Florence M. Read, the president of Spelman College, collaborated to bring Nancy Elizabeth Prophet to Atlanta in 1934. Nancy Prophet was considered as “one of the most talented American sculptors by American and European critics alike in the late 1920s and early 1930s” (Amaki & Brownlee, 2007, p. 14). As a Black female artist, that recognition was an exceptional honor. She was recognized as an American sculptor, not a Black or female

sculptor, but a talented American sculptor. The two presidents were certain that her presence would improve the quality of the AUC's fine art school. Prophet was the first Black woman to graduate from "the Rhode Island School of Design and the recipient of prestigious art awards, honors and other forms of recognition in the United States and abroad" (Amaki, 2007, p. 44). Nancy Prophet was a model of perseverance because she broke barriers that tried to put limitations on her female ambition (Amaki, 2007). Both Prophet's dedication and her artistic ability caused her to be an inspiration for her Black students.

Before teaching at Spelman, Prophet also spent time abroad developing her body of work in France. French critics described her as "a sculptor of race" because she was able to address subjects from diverse cultural backgrounds (Amaki, 2007, p. 49). Prophet was studying in Europe, but she still managed to appreciate diverse cultures, which is a practice I believe she brought with her into the classroom. Even though Prophet was not a member of the popular New Negro circles she still made a name for herself in France and around the world. While in Paris, Prophet was presented with the opportunity to be a student of African practitioners, which aided in her development of "a distinct cultural/ international style" (Amaki, 2007, p. 52). Cultural experiences such as this made her into a well-rounded artist and consequently a well-rounded art educator. She had knowledge of European, African and other racial groups' art because of the experiences she had while studying and working abroad. Similar to Woodruff, financial instability overseas, prompted Prophet to permanently return to the United States in 1934.

The quality of the AUC's art program significantly improved because of Prophet's introduction of sculpture, her personal expertise, into the curriculum. Upon her arrival to Spelman, mention of Prophet made several appearances in University publications such as *The Campus Mirror* and *The Spelman Messenger* (Amaki, 2007). She was invited to be a guest

speaker in several different departments and classes including W.E.B. DuBois's sociology class where she spoke about her experiences as a Black artist living in France (Amaki, 2007). Prophet was aware of her Blackness and she allowed her positionality to inform her teaching. Not only was she the first Black woman to teach art in the AUC, but she was the first instructor of sculpture. Prophet was also equipped to teach art history because of her time spent internationally. Prophet had high expectations for her students, and she was described as a very demanding instructor (Amaki, 2007). Unlike many of her colleagues, Prophet was an artist educator meaning she did not put her artistic career on hold once she began teaching at Spelman, she was showing work in various exhibitions and created new pieces while she taught. Prophet resigned from Spelman in 1944, after teaching at the University for 10 years.

Several Black art educators that ended up working in the public school system prior to *Brown*, received their art education from one of these prestigious HBCUs. Prophet, Herring, Douglas, Woodruff and several others whom contributed to the establishment of these art departments were trailblazers for the Black art community. These Black artists/educators paved the way for the establishment of art departments at other HBCU and art programs at Black public schools across the United States. The Black public school system became saturated with highly educated and artistically talented Black art educators. After being trained at an HBCU these new Black art educators were able to take their well-rounded and cultured exposure to the arts into elementary, junior high and high schools that served all Black children. Just as they were encouraged to interact with both their own culture and the cultures of others by educators such as Hale Woodruff and James Porter, they must have been able to cultivate the same environment for their Black public school students who were much younger in age.

Many of the art educators that founded the art departments at Howard, Fisk, and the AUC received their education in the arts from White institutions and instructors. Herring, Douglas, Woodruff, and Prophet were some of the first Black art educators to teach Black Students in the arts. Their presence as art educators challenging the dominant ideology that the arts could only be taught by White instructors and the fine arts were only for White people. This tenet of CRT disrupts the perpetuated narrative that Black educators are inferior. These Black art educators were able to teach their Black students in a way that White instructors could not. Douglas and Woodruff's expanded teaching methodology is an example of this. The tenets of CRT and critical multiculturalism both support the implementation of counter narratives, and I believe the expanded pedagogy that was used exemplifies this. Black art educators from this era use "personal narrative to counter cultural subjugation, or the idea that one group's cultural knowledge is superior to another's" (Acuff, 2018, p. 36). Because they had been practicing Black artists, they intentionally taught their students how to function in the art world as Black artists, which is not something a White art educator could do for Black students. They both knew it was necessary for their Black students to know the unique ways in which they must interact with White patrons and secure funding. They were teaching their students how to fight for their presence in the art world and how to fight for their identities as Black artists.

Power plays a significant role when it comes to analyzing this data utilizing critical multiculturalism and CRT. The Black art educators at Howard, Fisk, and the AUC empowered their Black students to become art educators and practicing artists. These pioneering Black art educators created a generation of Black art educators and artists that were taught how to show up in the world unashamedly. These empowered graduates entered the art world with confidence changing the dynamic of the arts. These students took the education they received and used it as

a springboard to begin teaching at other higher education institutions and in public primary schools that served Black students. Black people were now teaching themselves in the arts in a way White teachers were not experienced.

### **From Black Art Students to Black Art Educators**

Alma Thomas was the first graduate from Howard University's art department in 1924. Educated under the leadership of her teacher and mentor James Herring, she is presumed to be the first Black woman in the U.S to receive a Bachelor of Arts degree in fine arts (Gohari, 2012). Upon her graduation from Howard, Thomas began her 35-year career teaching art at Shaw Junior High School in Washington, D.C. In addition to her tenure at Shaw, Thomas sought to improve the artistic awareness in Black young adults by creating "the School Arts League with the goal of improving art appreciation among selected junior high school students... Then, in 1937, Thomas started another group, The Junior High Arts Club whose members visited local museums and attended regular lectures at Howard" (Gohari, 2012, p. 114). Thomas dedicated 35 plus years of her life to educating Black junior high school students.

As a Black art educator, Thomas was aware of the impact the arts would have on the Black youth. She regularly introduced her students to the work of Black artists, particularly during Negro History Week (the predecessor to Black History Month). Because Thomas was a Black art educator who was taught by Black art educators, she was aware of the importance this exposure to other Black artists would have on her Black students. While at Shaw, Thomas created the opportunity for Black history to be celebrated through the arts. Thomas organized an art exhibition for her school to celebrate Negro History Week. Her Art Department put on an art exhibition every year between the years of 1930-1940. Figure 9 is the cover page of the program for the exhibition in 1940. For this particular year, the exhibition featured the work of the Black

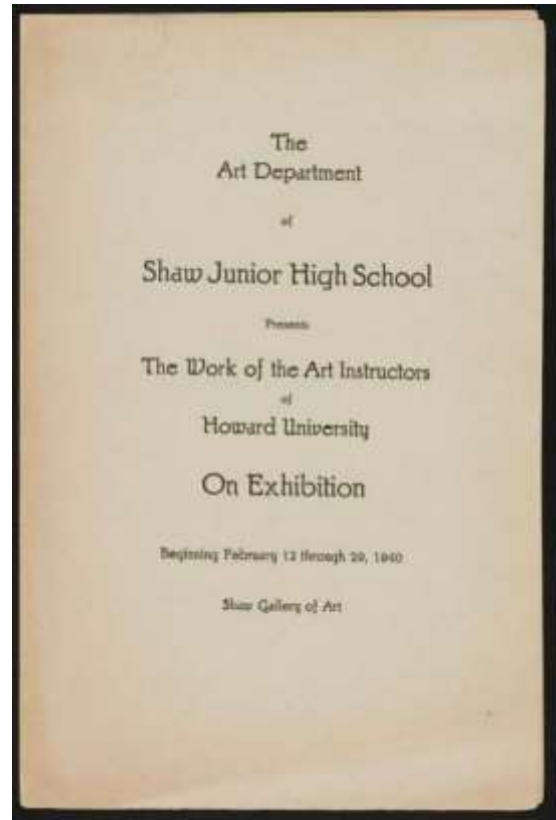
art instructors of Howard University. The artists who were featured were Loïs Mailou Jones, James Lesesne Wells, and James Porter. Every year for at least ten years, Thomas organized and sponsored the Negro History Week Art Exhibit that featured outstanding Negro Artists. All the artists featured during the week-long exhibition were making significant contributions to the art world on behalf of the Black art community

The art exhibitions that Thomas curated provided a unique opportunity for the Black students at Shaw Junior High School to engage with Black artists and their artworks that celebrate their culture.

Because Alma Thomas was a Black art educator who was trained by Black art educators, she focused on educating and encouraging her Black students to learn about the arts through the inclusion of Black culture and heritage into the curriculum in addition to European art and artists. This inclusion is defined as critical multiculturalism. The space that Alma Thomas created aligns with the tenet of critical multiculturalism that encourages students to be exposed to diverse cultures with an emphasis on their own culture. The yearly art exhibition during Negro history week illustrated for the Black students at Shaw that a career in the arts was viable for them as Black people. Thomas's curriculum must have come as a relief to her students because she was showing interest in their stories, she considered their cultural knowledge worthy of being taught because it was also her cultural knowledge (Hanley, 2010). Critical multiculturalism primarily

**Figure 9**

*Shaw's Negro History Week Exhibition Program*





exists to improve the academic success for students of color. Black art and Black art history is not othered or marginalized because the educator teaching these subjects is just as invested as the students.

Thomas's positionality as well as the positionality of other Black art educators allowed for them to prioritize the cultural experiences they share with their students whilst not completely excluding European art and artists. The critical multiculturalism Thomas both embodied and employed as a Black art educator supported her students because the information was relevant to their lives and took their culture into consideration. What is instrumentally impactful about Thomas's teaching was that she was teaching in a junior high school. She was exposing them to Black artists and works of art created by Black people at an early stage in their educational careers. If it was not for Thomas, many of these students would have never been exposed to Black art and artists unless they attended an HBCUs with an art department.

Alma Thomas was not only inspired by her Howard mentors and her time spent at the University, but she was also trained by another Black art educator Thomas Watson Hunster (1851-1929). Wormley (1932) credits Hunster with the creation of the fine arts department and the departments of manual and industrial art for the public education system in D.C. Under his guidance drawing occupied a high status in D.C. public schools (Lawton, 2017). Even before Herring developed Howard's art department, Hunster was teaching the arts to Black primary school students at the M Street School in Washington, D.C. In Washington's 1871- 1876 Annual Report of Board of Education, Lawton (2017) found that "Hunster was the third art educator hired for the Washington, DC, Black public schools" (p. 103). The work Hunster did exemplified a blending of the cultural with the practical according to Wormley (1932).

Before 1954, in certain areas there were thriving Black art communities. Most notably, in the years leading up to *Brown*, Black students were being trained in the arts by Black art educators. Predominantly in the segregated south, HBCUs began developing art departments as early as 1921. These departments produced artists and art educators who contributed to the establishment of other art department in both higher education and primary schools. Many of these working Black art educators believed it was their responsibility to expose Black students to the arts and support Black students in the arts. They felt this since of responsibility because White art educators were not as likely to establish the same systems of support a Black art educator would.

Mindsets such as this made Black art educators reject colorblind ideologies, because they knew by experience that the color of their student's skin would determine their advantage or disadvantage in the art world. Colorblindness has the appearance of being objective and race neutral, but this is a selective reality. To adopt this ideology would entail "minimizing past and current racism against communities of color, disregarding obviously unequal K- 12 schooling conditions..." (Yosso et. al., 2005, p. 7). Black art educators at the time were fully aware of the conditions they would be sending their Black students into. This was during a time in Black history where Black culture was celebrated through the arts. Black artists were being recognized and becoming world renowned in both the Black art circles and the mainstream art world.

### **Governmental Support of Black Artists and Art Educators**

Throughout the 1920s and 30s I believe Black American artists were thriving because of the art departments that were established at prestigious HBCUs. Many of the first art departments were established in the midst of the Harlem Renaissance or as it was known at the time, the New Negro Movement. These art programs along with the international New Negro

Movement supported the advancement of new Black artists and Black art educators across the United States. Many of the artists of the New Negro Movement went on to become “devoted teachers to the next generation of artists” and art educators at various HBCUs, Black public primary schools, and community art centers for Black children (Holland, 1998, p. 32). In the middle of this artistic Renaissance for the Black community was the Great Depression. This economic depression effected every aspect of American life including the arts. Bey (2017) states “During the Great Depression, countless school districts scaled down or eliminated art programs entirely, but the availability of after-school instruction increased as a result of President Franklin Roosevelt’s New Deal programs” (p. 126). The New Deal programs that Roosevelt implemented that benefited the arts were the Works Progress Administrations (WPA) and the Federal Arts Program (FAP).

These programs provided relief to several Black artists by employing them as teachers (Bey, 2017). The FAP provided “jobs for muralists, easel painters, print makers, graphic designers, sculptors, and art educators.” This program was the largest and most innovative federal relief and public support for the arts (Retson, 1977, p.1). While teaching in the AUC Hale Woodruff gathered a group of his students which he called “The Painters Guild,” who worked on WPA murals for the Atlanta school of social work (Davis, 1984b). Woodruff created several community murals with the support of the WPA. Aaron Douglas also painted WPA sponsored murals at Fisk University, the New York Public Library, and the Harlem YMCA. Douglas’s murals reflected his belief “in the integration of African design and Afro American heritage” (Davis, 1984a, p. 97). James Porter (1943), a Black art educator, wrote the following concerning the WPA: “The opportunities afforded... so far through the WPA Federal Arts Projects raise the hope that equal opportunities will soon appear through private and commercial patronage and the

prejudice and mistrust that have restricted the Negro artists and warped his milieu will be abolished” (p. 133). The WPA provided viable conditions for Black artists, many of which were artist educators because they taught in order to supplement income while they continued to make art. Many of the Black artist educators were employed in community art centers. Unlike public schools, the centers were exclusively for art lectures, classes and workshops. King-Hammond (n.d.) explains that “community art centers provided your Black artists with new experiences in the arts, experiences from which they had largely been excluded by the segregated social conditions of the time” (p.1).

The FAP was designed to help artists in general. Ultimately, it provided employment, patronage, and funding to several Black artists. The FAP advocated for social justice for minorities in the arts, which is a tenet of CRT. The efforts put forth by the FAP worked towards the elimination of racism, sexism, and poverty as well as the empowerment of people of color and other subordinated groups (Solorzano & Yosso, 2001). The strides made by the FAP align with the social justice tenet of CRT because the program empowered an underrepresented minority group and it acknowledged their potential as an entity to oppress and marginalize and instead attempted to empower Black artists and art educators.

The community centers that were established to benefit Black students and employ Black art educators during The Great Depression were supported and maintained by the FAP even after *Brown*. These centers became a vital resource for Black students to remain educated in the arts and for Black art educators to remain employed. However, even though the FAP assisted Black artists, the opportunities were still limited. According to Holland (1998), the FAP was looking for a particular kind of public art from Black artists that could be identified as primitive and exemplified the “visceral talents of an exotic race” (p. 31). Patrons and organizations such as the

FPA preferred to financially support Black artists who were making art that reinforced racial constructs (Holland, 1998). Holland (1998) reports that this became a major obstacle for Black artists because patrons and entities that were financially supporting them made efforts to influence their work, urging them to bring out what was believed to be “essential primitive elements of African American artistry” (p. 32). This practice was problematic because the assistance from White patrons and White run organizations seemed to patronize and stereotype the artistic abilities of Black artists. The White patrons and White run organizations were disconnected from the individuals they were helping fund. I support Hollands (1998) presumption that a Black patron would potentially be more capable of offering “the invaluable support of a community that shared the same range of aspirations and obstacles” (p. 32).

To conclude, what I have offered here all occurred before *Brown v. Board*. Based on the data presented, there were Black art educators impacted by *Brown*. Art departments at HBCUs and Black public schools were established by Black art educators in the years leading up to *Brown*. My research considers how *Brown* specifically effected the employment of Black art educators and the art education of Black students. Determining what the implications of the *Brown* decision were on Black art educators requires a clear understanding of the landmark supreme court case. There were four major court cases that *Brown* was inspired by including *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 1938, *Mendez v. Westminster*, 1946, *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Board of Regents*, 1950 and *Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950. All of these court cases were precursors to *Brown*, and they paved the way for its achievement.

### **The Road to *Brown***

Taking a step away from the segregated south and the east coast, *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 1954, heavily overshadows its Californian predecessor, *Mendez v.*

*Westminster*, 1946. In September of 1943 Soledad Vidaurri went to Westminster Main School to enroll her two daughters and her brothers three children in school. Her two girls, Alice and Virginia Vidaurri, were welcomed to register, but Sylvia, Gonzalo and Geronimo Mendez, her niece and nephews, were told to register at the Mexican school a few blocks away. The only difference in the children were that the Mendez children were visibly darker than their cousins. The Mendezes refused to send their children to the Mexican school and they would later “lead a group of Mexican-American parents into federal court, challenging the segregation of their children...” (Strum, 2003, p. 307-308). This was the first case in which the federal court declared separate but equal schooling to be unequal (Strum, 2003).

Gonzalo Mendez Sr. and his lawyer David Marcus wanted to challenge segregation itself. Marcus went to the federal court arguing that educational segregation violated the Fourteenth Amendment (Strum, 2003). The issue they ran into was in 1898 when the U.S. Supreme Court was still holding onto the decision made in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. At the time “the Fourteenth Amendment permitted a state to require railroads to segregate their passengers by race as long as the accommodations offered to the black riders were equal to those offered to whites” (Strum, 2003, p. 314). Though *Plessy* did not mention schools in its ruling many states, particularly in the south, still used the ruling as an opportunity to employ Jim Crow in every area of public and private society. At this time in American history, segregation on the basis of race was legal. *Brown* and *Mendez* differed in that “Marcus argued that *Mendez* has nothing to do with race” (Strum, 2003, p. 315). The children in the Orange County school district that were of Mexican or Latin descent were being kept from specific schools. Strum (2003) states that this was not an issue of racial segregation because Mexicans were members of the White race. The students were being discriminated against based on ethnicity.

Judge McCormick, who presided over the case, “handed down his decision on February 18, 1946... McCormick found the segregation illegitimate...” (Strum, 2003, p. 319). McCormick believed it was important for both citizens and non-citizens to commingle. The judge’s ruling highlights the cultural knowledge of minorities encouraged by critical multiculturalism. In this situation, the knowledge of the dominant culture was not intended to be the only knowledge offered in schools. Regarding critical multiculturalism, Acuff (2013) articulates “critical multiculturalism aims to address how alternative cultural knowledges come to be subjugated” (p. 220). McCormick recognized the subjugation of Mexican American students and his ruling supported their knowledge. In other places across the nation alternative knowledges were commonly disregarded and subjugated, this omission was supported by the majority of the dominant race. McCormick saw value in what Mexican-American students could add to classrooms and he did not support them being segregated. The bilingual abilities of these students were regarded as an asset to their monolingual classmates. *Mendez vs Westminster* supports the tenet of critical multiculturalism that valued diverse cultural knowledge and it laid the foundation for *Brown*.

Although *Mendez* was successful in challenging ethnic segregation, it did not attempt to challenge *Plessy*. Several victories spearheaded by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) set the stage for the overturning of *Plessy* by *Brown*. In *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, 1938, the state of Missouri offered to pay the out-of-state tuition of a Black Missouri student who sought admission to the White law school in his state (Brown, 2004). The court decided that the payment of tuition in other states does not remove discrimination, violating the Fourteenth amendment because it denied the “legal right to the enjoyment of the privilege that the state offered to its White citizens” (Brown, 2004, p. 256).

Even though Black students were accepted into White universities in some southern states, “within school” segregation still existed. Within school segregation involved segregating Black students from White student in classrooms, libraries, and cafeterias at predominantly White institutions. In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Board of Regents*, 1950, the court ruled in favor of removing within school segregation for Black students on account that it handicapped Black students (Brown, 2004). Several southern states including Texas attempted to quickly “build” Black law schools to accommodate the demand by Black students as demonstrated in *Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950. Brown (2004) writes that “The Court held that this separate law school for Blacks could not provide equal protection of the laws... The new Black law school excluded 85% of the population prepared to be lawyers in the State and was not equal to the University of Texas Law School by the Court” (p. 257). The NAACP was winning case after case to slowly dismantle segregation but exclusively at the collegiate level. Efforts were not focused on public primary schools until *Brown* enumerated both *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* to “apply [the rulings] with added force to children in grade and high schools” (Fleming, 1976, p. 5, as cited by Brown, 2004).

### ***Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, 1954***

*Brown* was made up of five cases attacking state enforced school segregation. The cases came from segregated school districts in Kansas, South Carolina, Delaware, Virginia and Washington D.C. (Brown, 2004). The Delaware case was settled first in the lower court system but the other four went on to be argued before the Supreme Court. In order to have success in *Brown*, the NAACP’s legal team “invoked the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment” because it has been successfully used in other state action cases (Brown, 2004, p. 259). Since *Plessy* had been used and abused to validate segregation in public arenas including



public education, the NAACP had to convince the court that *Plessy* should not have been extended to public education (Brown, 2004). The only argument that would have been successful in court was to argue that segregated elementary and high schools were detrimental to the educational development of Black students.

The first lines in the transcript of *Brown* says;

Segregation of white and Negro children in the public schools of a State solely on the basis of race, pursuant to state laws permitting or requiring such segregation, denies to Negro children the equal protection of laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment – *even though the physical facilities and other “tangible” factors of white and Negro schools may equal* (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954, emphasis added).

The very first statement made in the transcript of the cases findings contains a fallacy. The physical facilities and other tangible factors in Black and White schools were not equal. Quinn (2005) stated, “all black and brown children attended schools that were only shadows of the schools many, but not all, white children attended...” (p. 186). Many Black schools were denied basic resources and funding to provide a productive learning environment for its students. Textbooks at Black schools were outdated and sometimes non-existent, they did not have proper spaces for gymnasiums or cafeterias and basic necessities such as trash cans nor hand soap was provided for Black students (Quinn, 2005). Black schools were separate but their resources were not equal, and the conditions of the Black schools is where *Plessy* was violated. The Black community desired equal resources and according to Chief Justice Warren’s opinion included in the Brown transcript, “admission to the public schools of the community on a nonsegregated basis” (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954).

The consensus the courts came to was;

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system (*Brown v. Board of Educ.*, 1954).

This rational unintentionally or intentionally implicated the teaching abilities of Black educators. Once this verdict was reached, I believe it immediately put the credibility of Black educators in jeopardy. Judges had deemed Black schools to be inferior, which inextricably linked Black teachers to the idea of inferiority. Almost all Black educators were collectively labeled as less qualified than White educators. The ramifications of *Brown* effected many innocent bystanders particularly Black art educators and the inclusion of Black art and artists in art curriculum.

### **How and Why *Brown* affected the employment of Black art educators**

When I began my research, I questioned whether or not Black students were being educated in the arts by Black art educators. Evidence was found and presented at the beginning of this analysis that affirms a formal education by Black art educators to Black students began in 1921 at Howard University, by James V. Herring. As a result, I have questioned whether or not *Brown* effected the employment of Black art educators, thus effecting Black art being taught in the newly desegregated schools. I was interested in knowing how and if their employment was affected and why it was affected. The Black art educators I mentioned at the beginning of this

analysis, Herring, Douglas, Woodruff, and Prophet, all worked diligently to provide their students with an art experience that was representational and inclusive. I believe it is possible Black art educators made every effort to highlight the work of Black artists in addition to European art and artists. Their curricula could have included artworks and artists from different cultures because they were aware of the importance of a diverse art curricula.

To discover if the employment of Black art educators and the inclusion of Black art in schools was affected by *Brown*, I utilized a critical multiculturalism framework, which supports highlighting the cultural knowledge of minorities. Highlighting the cultural knowledge of minorities would encompass featuring Black and minority artists and art and using their inclusion to question the power and privilege of the dominant culture. This tenet of critical multiculturalism supports my research question because the inclusion of Black art in schools was encouraged by the presence of Black art educators. If Black art educators were not present to teach Black and minority art to students in desegregated classrooms, then that artistic knowledge would not have been taught at all. Black art educators may not have exclusively taught about Black art and artists, but I believe they would have incorporated more Black art and artists into their curricula than a White art educator based on my findings. I also utilized a critical race theory (CRT) framework that challenges dominant ideologies and power structures. This tenet of CRT further supports my research question because I believe if dominant ideologies were still encouraged and perpetuated in art classrooms after *Brown*, it may have only been because Black art educators were not retained to ensure the inclusion of subjugated knowledges. It was common for Black art educators to challenge dominant ideologies and support meaning making from the varied experiences of Black folks based on the Black art educators I discussed in the beginning

of this analysis. There is a link between Black art educators and the inclusion of Black and minority art in schools, I believe the absence of one will imply the absence of the other.

As I considered how Black art educators were impacted by *Brown v Board*, I found that they were impacted the same way Black general education teachers were impacted. Of the teachers effected, they were fired regardless of subject area after being labeled as nonessential, unimportant and unqualified post *Brown*. In the transcript of *Brown v Board* there was no language to support, encourage or require the retention of Black educators or any curricula that was taught in Black schools (Oakley et al., 2009). The word “teachers” is only mentioned once throughout the entire transcript of *Brown* and the context has nothing to do with teacher retention. Oakley et al., (2009) asserts that no law was put in place to protect Black teachers and administrators from termination after school desegregation. Tillman (2004) references a dismissal letter written to a Black educator stating, “our Board will process on the assumption that the majority of people in Topeka will not want to employ negro teachers next year for White children” (p. 280). This resulted in the mass firing of Black educators, the degradation of their curriculum and the closing of Black public schools because of their label of inferiority (Fultz, 2004; Tillman, 2004; Oakley et al., 2009). Black educators were terminated by way of dismissals, demotions, forced resignations, non-hiring, token promotions, reduced salaries and diminished responsibilities (Fultz, 2004; Tillman, 2004; Oakley et al., 2009). *How* Black art educators were dismissed is conventional, but *why* has an entirely different rational from my perspective.

During the desegregation process there was an assumption made on behalf of the courts and White society for *Brown* to be successful. McCristal Culp (1995) labels this assumption the “assimilation assumption” and explains it as,

...a single standard of assimilation can be articulated for American society, and that black people will be willing to adhere to that standard. This requirement of black assimilation is akin to a requirement that black people put on white face and is ultimately unacceptable as a goal for a decolonized African American community. This desire for assimilation promotes the conclusion that it is permissible to create white culture but dangerous to have black culture... I call this misconception of the Brown orthodoxy the "assimilation assumption" (p. 669-670).

Any art curricula that incorporated Black art and artists, taught by Black art educators, at Black public schools would have been identified as “dangerous” based on the assimilation assumption. This disregard for the inclusion of Black art curricula occurred because it was assumed that Black people would and should seek assimilation to dominant ideologies after desegregation. The courts believed that were doing Black students a favor by separating them from an environment that celebrated Black culture through the teaching of Black art.

*Brown’s* transcript says, “Today it [education] is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment” (Brown v. Board of Educ., 1954). The “cultural values” being spoken about I presume are the values of White society. Legislators were expecting Black students to willingly accept the degradation of their own art and culture. If Black art was taught in newly desegregated public schools by Black art educators, it would have involve challenging the dominant ideologies, creating new narratives and voluntarily highlighting the cultural knowledge of minorities in schools.

The retention of Black cultural knowledge, including knowledge about Black art and artists, aligns with the tenet of CRT that challenges dominant ideologies. Ladson- Billings and

Tate (1995) articulate that in order for groups in power to keep their power they will perpetuate stereotypes and other constructed elements to marginalize minorities. CRT seeks to disrupt these systems by challenging that power structure established by groups in power. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) say, CRT “challenges the traditional claims that the education system and its instructions make toward objectivity, meritocracy, color- blindness, race neutrality and equal opportunity” (p. 597). This tenet of CRT argues against these tactics because they perpetuate the power and privilege held by the dominant groups (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). If Black art educators were retained, I believe they would have facilitated and supported a smooth integration of Black art into desegregated schools. They would not have done this to the utter exclusion of European art and artists, but I believe they would have more prominently acknowledged the creative contributions of people of color. Black art educators were not retained because there was no desire to include Black art and artists into newly desegregated schools. I believe Black art educators would have inherently included Black art and artists into their curricula whether they were teaching art to Black or White students. School systems specifically did not want this inclusion thus meaning they specifically did not want Black art educators. This is *why* Black art educators specifically were dismissed, because the artistic inclusion they would bring was not welcomed.

Chief Justice Warren articulated the inferiority of Black schools in the transcript of the *Brown* case. White schools had no intentions of adapting their art curricula or hiring Black art educators to accommodate for the influx of Black students. It was completely unreasonable to assume and expect for Black students to reject the artistic contributions of Black artists in favor of an exclusionary whitewashed art curricula. White members of society and White art educators often believe people of color did not create art or have art education experiences according to

Lock (1971), (as cited in Acuff, 2013). I can surmise that White art teachers had been facilitating an exclusively Eurocentric art curricula for decades with no sense of racial inclusivity or competency because they did not believe Black artists made artistic contributions

Photographic evidence that proves the likely absence of Black art educators is the image below (figure 10) that features a group of eighth grade White boys dressed in Blackface performing a theater production. Blackface or a minstrel show, refers to the practice where non-Black performers would smear burnt cork residue or grease paint on their skin to darken their appearance (Grosvenor & Toll, 2019; Mahar, 1985). Grosvenor and Toll (2019) describe minstrel shows as having “a long-lasting impact, with cruel stereotypes that echoed in popular culture for 150 years” (p.1). Minstrel shows were violent, and they were meant to dehumanize and mock the Black community, they epitomize the practice of dominance and control held by the majority race during this time in U.S. history. Blackface performances would depict Black people as lazy and illiterate who “would rather play than work, rather frolic than think. Such images have inevitably affected the ways white America has viewed and treated black America” (Grosvenor & Toll, 2019, p. 2). Not only were the appearances of the non-Black actors distorted, Mahar (2017) explains the performers would fabricate Black English Vernacular (BEV). If a Black art educator was employed in desegregated public schools these blatantly racist performances may have never happened. It can be assumed that a Black art educator would have disrupted and halted Blackface theater productions in public schools because of their knowledge surrounding the history and the effects such performances could have on Black students.

**Figure 10**

*Group of White Eight Grade Boys Dressed in Blackface Preforming a Theater Production*



By excluding Black art in students' art education, as well as the firing of Black art educators, schools' hidden curriculum was saying that Black people did not contribute to the art world in any significant way. Black primary schools and HBCUs were safe spaces for Black students to feel uplifted and supported by their peers and Black art educators. The existence of Black art educators challenged "the absolute right to exclude," outlined by Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995). This "right" called for "the absence of the 'contaminating' influence of blackness..." (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 60). Despite attempts to exclude, institutions such as Howard University, Fisk University and the AUC all established and ran art departments to the benefit of Black students. Instead of complying to the dominant culture's narrative, I believe Black art educators challenged these ideologies with the establishment of successful art programs highlighting the cultural knowledge and artistic contributions of minorities.

CRT and critical multiculturalism centralize the knowledge of minorities and recognize their experiential knowledge as legitimate, appropriate and critical to understanding (Solórzano



& Yosso, 2001). In the context of CRT this form of knowledge is viewed as a strength because of its recognition of narratives centering people of color.

The same tactics used to eliminate Black general education teachers were used to eliminate Black art educators. Black art educators were uniquely targeted because they would inherently include Black art and artists into their curriculum. This inclusion would complicate the “assimilation assumption” which would disrupt dominant ideologies. I believe White art educators supported and perpetuated Eurocentric art because the inclusion of other cultures would threaten White supremacy. Desegregated schools had no desire to incorporate or highlight Black art or Black artists in their schools, so they systematically did not hire Black art educators. After this analysis it is clear both how and why the employment of Black art educators and the inclusion of Black art in newly desegregated schools were affected by *Brown*.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

Based on the data that was collected and analyzed, I can conclude how *Brown v. The Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 1954, specifically affected Black art educators. In this conclusion, I discuss the findings that answer the primary research questions and the sub question. Then I will discuss the limitations of this study. To reiterate my research questions and sub question:

1. What specifically happened to Black art educators and Black art education in primary schools?
2. With the disappearance of Black and minority culture being taught in primary schools, how was Black and minority art impacted?

Sub question

1. In what capacity was art being taught by Black art educators in Black schools pre-*Brown* and what changed post-*Brown* once Black students went to White schools?

To answer the primary research questions, it was necessary that I began with answering the sub question. In order to properly understand what specifically happened to Black art educators and Black art in desegregated primary schools, I needed to establish the capacity in which art was being taught to Black students by Black art educators pre-*Brown*. I found photographs and school curricula that support the existence of Black art educators at various HBCUs including Howard University, Fisk University, and schools a part of the Atlanta University Center (AUC), (Morehouse, Spelman, Clark, Morris Brown). Many photographs depicted trailblazing Black art educators teaching art classes to Black students. James V. Herring, Aaron Douglas, Hale

Woodruff, and Nancy Prophet were a few of the first Black art educators to teach Black students in the arts.

Before the establishment of art departments at HBCUs many Black artists were self-taught or they learned from White art educators and European artists overseas (Amaki, 2007; Amaki & Brownlee, 2007; Davis, 1984a, 1984b; Sumrell, 2013). Woodruff and Prophet specifically followed that path by spending time abroad in France before they returned to the United States to teach at the AUC and become art educators for Black students. James Herring was responsible for the establishment of the art department at Howard University in 1921 (Dyson, 1941; VanDriver, 2017). Howard's art department was responsible for training numerous Black students to become art educators in public schools, including Alma Thomas. Thomas took the training she received from her Black art educators and became a Black art educator for Black students in Washington, D.C. public schools for 35 years (Ghoari, 2012).

The existence of Black art educators and art departments for Black students at the primary and secondary level, affirmed by photographic documentation, provided the foundational information that was necessary to discover the implications *Brown* had on Black art educators. Research exists that supports the notion that desegregation decreases the Black teaching force as a whole (Fultz, 2004; Oakley et al., 2009; Tillman, 2004). I was curious to know why desegregation specifically impacted Black art educators. Black art educators were specifically and intentionally targeted because I believe they would inherently incorporate Black art and Black artists into their art curricula. Art educators in primary schools such as Alma Thomas organized art exhibitions to celebrate Black art and Black artists as a consistent part of her art curricula (Gohari, 2012). I don't believe desegregated schools wanted that kind of inclusion and representation in their art curricula because of the "assimilation assumption"

outlined by McCristal Culp (1995). The assimilation assumption holds that Black students would and should assimilate to White culture in newly desegregated schools. If Black art educators were retained or hired after *Brown*, it would have been difficult to completely eliminate the inclusion of Black art and artists into art curricula.

I questioned how the inclusion of Black and minority art was impacted by the disappearance of Black and minority culture. Black art disappeared along with Black culture in public schools. Neither Black culture nor Black art was included into the curricula of desegregated schools. This was due in part to the label of inferiority given to Black curricula based on the transcript of *Brown* written by Chief Justice Warren. Desegregation was supported in the court because it was believed that “Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational an mental development of the negro child and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system” (*Brown v. Board of Educ.*, 1954). It was presumed that what Black children were learning in their segregated schools was not sufficient, and they needed a more White centered education. When schools were desegregated, most Black educators (all subjects) were not retained, and curricula taught in Black schools was disregarded.

### **Limitations of Study**

The first limitation of my study I am considering is my one-dimensional use of the term art educator. In this study, I consider an art educator to be a visual art educator teaching the fine arts such as drawing, painting, and sculpture. For example, I did not include Black art educators that may have taught performing or musical arts to Black students. Several of the art educators I found during my research were involved in the Harlem Renaissance, including Woodruff and

Douglas. The Harlem Renaissance includes Black artists in visual, performing and musical arts. There may have been some Black musicians or performers that became educators and their inclusion into this study would have made it more inclusive. For the purpose of this study I only researched Black visual art educators. By only looking at Black visual art educators I unearthed a substantial amount of information regarding how desegregation impacted the arts, but it is still one-dimensional. In a larger study I would be able to include art educators from all artistic genres including performing and musical arts.

A second limitation for this study is that I geographically focused my research to the eastern and southern United States. The art departments and art educators I researched were located in the south at schools including Howard University, Fisk University, schools in the Atlanta University Center and Shaw Junior High School. I did not broaden my search to the north nor to midwestern cities like New York City (NYC), Chicago or Detroit. It is likely that these cities would have also had a thriving Black arts and Black art education communities. The great migration lead to Black people moving to northern cities like NYC, Chicago and Detroit at the turn of the century. This concentration of Black people could have had a thriving Black art community. If this research was expanded by looking more at Black art communities across the United States, more results could have been recorded.

The third limitation of this study I will consider is limited information provided regarding the conditions of art departments in Black schools after *Brown*. There was a heavy focus on the establishment of art departments at Black schools before *Brown* but not as much information regarding how *Brown* impacted their conditions. I operated under the assumption that when Black schools closed, the art departments disappeared along with the schools. However, HBCUs such as Howard and Fisk are still operating today and I did not study how their operation may

have changed immediately following *Brown*. I primarily focused on the employment of Black art educators before and after *Brown*, not the existence of Black lead and staffed art departments.

The last limitation I will consider is the pervasiveness Eurocentrism could have had on Black art educators. From the literature I read and cited, I believe Black art educators would be more likely to include some Black artists and art into what they were teaching their students regardless of race. I did not consider that other Black art educators were not teaching about Black art and artists. Eurocentrism effects Black people the same way it effects White people. It is possible that a Black art educator also was not educated about Black art and artists, so in turn they would not have taught about Black art and artists. I exclusively looked at Black art educators who were taught and trained at HBCUs at a time where HBCUs specifically existed to educate and uplift the Black community. The art educators at the schools that I discussed, Herring, Douglas, Woodruff, and Prophet, made sure to educate their students about Black art and artists. This may not have been the case for all working Black art educators. Eurocentrism may have played a larger role in marginalizing art education that incorporated Black art and the art of other racial minorities in the curricula Black art educators employed, and I did not take it into much consideration for this study.

### **Personal Learning Outcomes**

Prior to entering graduate school and conducting this study, I studied art education at an HBCU. However, I was not educated much about Black art, artists or art educators. Upon graduation, it is likely that I would have fallen into the category of Black art educators teaching from a Eurocentric point of view because I was not educated about any Black art or artist during my entire pre-graduate educational experience. Both graduated school and this research

enlightened me into the rich history Black art educators have and the responsibility we carry. For the first time I explored how my Blackness would and should affect my teaching. I explored my positionality and my intersectionality as a Black person, a woman and an art educator. Once this shift happened, I began to understand and acknowledge the importance of my presence in the classroom as a Black art educator. Because I have the desire to teach in public schools, I could be a student's first Black teacher, and I dare to say the *only* Black art educator they will ever have. Through this study, I am inspired by the Black art educators I researched, and I am thankful for the work they did to establish art departments and shatter stereotypes around Black art, artists and our contributions (or lack thereof).

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